

Tuesday 5 February

Keynote: “White *Incipit*” – Professor Seeta Chaganti

Medievalists of various disciplines argue that whiteness as a racial category began to emerge in the Middle Ages. Madeline Caviness, for instance, employs visual and material evidence to argue that a European consciousness of itself as white – along with a set of meanings associated with that category – appeared at a specific moment in the Western Middle Ages. Geraldine Heng and Cord Whitaker each look to romance, whose preoccupations with travel and transformation draw its protagonists far from Western Europe. In its treatment of people and places beyond the West, romance considers the meanings, Heng and Whitaker suggest, of both blackness and whiteness as these develop in the Middle Ages.

“White *Incipit*” explores instead how Middle English lyric initiates the construct of whiteness. Such lyric enables this beginning, I argue, because its form uniquely accommodates the paradoxical dynamics implicit to beginning itself. As D. Vance Smith shows, the Middle Ages acknowledge the complexity of beginnings in their philosophical and literary traditions. Recent scholarship of the medieval lyric, including that of Ingrid Nelson as well as my own, reminds us that recursion, repetition, and prolepsis shape readers’ experiences of medieval lyric. These aspects of lyric cause it to enact by its very nature the ambiguity and conflict underlying any attempt to locate, or define the concept of, origin. In thus poetically naturalizing the problematics of beginning, the lyric at once facilitates and occludes the particular incipience of whiteness. While the lyric can appear to treat whiteness as a neutral or default state, I contend that it spirals through an intimate Englishness of daisies and whalebone to initiate a whiteness as intentional as it is visible. And when we consider the substantive, if vexed, role of the medieval short poem in the narrative of Western lyric tradition, it becomes especially important to recognise early English lyric as a white *incipit*.

Wednesday 6 February

Keynote: “Islands of Otherness” – Professor Christoph Luthy

Throughout the Middle Ages, the proverbial pillars of Hercules to the north and south of the Strait of Gibraltar symbolized the end of the navigable world. According to legend, they bore the warning *Nec plus ultra*: “don’t go beyond!” As the name of *Cabo Finisterre* in Spain and of the *Département Finistère* in France still document, Europe’s Western coastline to this day carries topographical references to the traditional creed that the world ended there. What might lie beyond that limit was a matter of speculation and imagination.

In the early-modern era of naval discovery and territorial expansion, the Spanish kings scrapped the forbidding word ‘nec’ from the earlier prohibition *nec plus ultra*. The new, affirmative motto *plus ultra* (“go beyond!”) became a slogan for discovery and expansion, primarily in territorial terms, but thanks to Francis Bacon soon also in scientific terms.

This lecture will examine the island literature from that period. After all, islands, whether real or imaginary, have a particular appeal: they are bounded territories of otherness, alternative worlds and potential models for societal reform. In fact, from the moment that the first Portuguese and Spanish ships returned from the formerly forbidding waters, new genres of island literature sprang up. Some described real places, others imaginary islands, utopias and dystopias. As we shall see, this island literature both mirrored and influenced the development of early-modern science: while according to its own rhetoric, the Royal Society was partly modelled on an imaginary institution placed on an island in Francis Bacon’s *New Atlantis*, the seventeenth-century development of microscopes and telescopes in turn brought about literary islands of an altogether novel type.

Parallels session 1

a. *The Afterlives of Queens (sponsored by the Royal Studies Network)*

“At the Border of Life and Death: The Ghost of Anne Boleyn” – Stephanie Russo

Encounters with the ghost or spirit of Anne Boleyn are one of the strangest, yet persistent, aspects of her literary afterlife, as well as the folklore associated with her memory; an ironic twist given Boleyn’s role in the English Reformation. From the publication of Sarah Fielding’s account of a posthumous meeting with Anne Boleyn, contained within her brother Henry Fielding’s *Journey from this World to the Next* (1743), writers have continually imagined (or believed) the enticing prospect of being able to directly question the executed Queen about the circumstances of her life and death. In this paper, I explore a number of accounts of meetings with the dead Anne Boleyn. In W.S. Pakenham-Walsh’s memoir *A Tudor Story: The Return of Anne Boleyn* (1963), the ghost of Anne Boleyn is presented as a benevolent heavenly being, and the guardian angel of the author. In Howard Brenton’s 2010 play *Anne Boleyn*, her ghost talks to James VI and I about her Protestant convictions while he cross-dresses in her coronation robes. Finally, in Robert Parry’s *The Arrow Chest*, Anne Boleyn is both ghost and living woman; the novel posits that the only thing that will allow her ghost to rest is to rewrite her story altogether. What unites all these idiosyncratic accounts of a post-mortem Boleyn is their conviction that the past can be made to signify in the present: that historical figures of the early modern world can be made to explain themselves and provide an interpretative lens for understanding historical events. Drawing on Derrida’s concept of “hauntology”, as outlined in his *Spectres of Marx* (1993), I argue that the ghost of Anne Boleyn functions as a spectral remnant of a past that keeps intruding into the present, asking complex questions about our perceptions of history, nostalgia and gender.

“No Room for Mistakes: Guilt, Innocence and the Execution of Queens in Philippa Gregory’s Historical Fictions” – Laura Saxton

Anne Boleyn, Jane Grey and Mary Queen of Scots share a dubious legacy as queens who were executed for treason. They are also perennial figures of historical fiction, owing in part to a macabre fascination with the violence of their deaths. By no means have these women been forgotten; however, cultural and literary memories of their lives are overshadowed by the ways they died. The novels of Philippa Gregory are apt examples. Gregory’s stated aim in writing historical fiction is to bring women’s experiences to the fore, yet her representations of these women are often limited by a gendered dichotomy between good and bad women. This paper will analyse three novels by Gregory which depict the executions of Anne Boleyn, Jane Grey and Mary Queen of Scots respectively: *The Other Boleyn Girl*, *The Last Tudor* and *The Other Queen*. It considers the ways that innocence, guilt and culpability are framed in Gregory’s depiction of the execution of queens. Although not necessarily guilty of treason, Anne, Jane and Mary are presented as reckless, stubborn, naïve and arrogant, traits not readily associated with skilled queens or good women. Their behaviour is positioned in relation to their eventual executions, even when their actions have no bearing on their alleged crimes. As such, their executions are represented as a response, not to criminal acts, but as an outcome of misbehaviour and poor choices; a critique of this representation is pertinent to contemporary and detrimental discourse in which women are held responsible for the violence enacted against them. Decapitated queens are a trope of Tudor historical fictions, and an analysis of Gregory’s use of this trope offers an insight into literary representations of these individuals in the twenty-first century.

“Redeeming the Arthurian Queen: remembering Guinevere’s afterlife as a nun in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British art and culture” – Ellie Crookes

Queen Guinevere, as is well known and has been extensively studied, was a dominant figure in British Arthuriana of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. She was chiefly rendered as a destructive force: a potent personification of swirling anxieties around uncontrolled womanhood, unrestrained female sexuality, and the irredeemable fallen woman. This demonised depiction of Guinevere was massively influenced by Tennyson’s seminal treatment of the queen in his *Idylls of the 1850s*, which in turn borrowed from Sir Thomas Malory’s canonical handling of Guinevere in the fifteenth century in his *Le Morte D’Arthur*. Present in both of these key works, and in much of the Arthurian art and culture of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, is an aspect that has been somewhat brushed over by scholars. An aspect that, rather significantly, challenges our popular understanding of Guinevere: namely, the fact that the queen lived out the end of her days as a nun. The prevalence and importance of the representation of Guinevere as a nun in British culture at this time, and how these representations fundamentally portrayed Guinevere as a redeemed woman, has received little attention. This omission from Arthurian scholarship muddies our understanding of the Arthurian queen in the nineteenth and twentieth century, as it overlooks an important strain of depiction that mitigates Guinevere’s representation as an entirely ‘bad’ woman. Such an interpretation of Guinevere at this time in British history, through the examination of great works of British Arthuriana and more ‘popular’ works of low culture, irrevocably challenges the notion of the irredeemable fallen woman and the inherent connection of this trope to the figure of Guinevere.

b. *Medieval and Early Modern Celtic Linguistics in Memory of Anders Ahlqvist*

“Old Irish *muir* in compounds – what category is being marked?” – Pamela O’Neill

The element *muir* ‘sea’, occurs in several Old Irish compounds, several of which form place-names. It is clearly meant to mark a particular category of the other element in the compound, thus *muirchrech*, a sea-boundary or *muirbolg*, literally a sea-bag. This paper explores the use of *muir-* in Old Irish compounds, investigating whether it marks a common kind of category in all cases, or whether its meaning varies from one compound to another.

“Examining the linguistic boundary between Old Welsh and Middle Welsh” – Murray Luke Peard

While the existence of a clear linguistic boundary between Old Welsh and Middle Welsh is a recognised fact, there remains much to be done in terms of linguistic analysis of various texts with reference to that boundary. *Armes Prydein* is a text generally identified as Old Welsh, but largely on the basis of external historical references, rather than internal linguistic markers. This paper examines a small selection of linguistic features in *Armes Prydein* as a test of our capacity to date the text on linguistic grounds.

“Fortingall and its onomastics” – Kristen Erskine

An important stage in any journey between the great Pictish strongholds in the east of Scotland and the monastery of Iona in the west may well have been Fortingall. With a concentration of visible remains from the Neolithic to the modern day this little settlement in the Lyon Valley has obviously been a locus of human activity over a very long period indeed. This paper investigates the names associated with Fortingall and its environs, with an emphasis on the early medieval period. Ranging from a disproportionately large number of

church dedications to Iona abbots to an impressive array of place-names associated with the church and Iona, the linguistic evidence remains strong for early medieval activity in the area.

c. *The Forgotten Virtues: Exercising Virtues in the Anchorite and Monastic Traditions*

“The Meekness of Anchorites” – Merridee Bailey

“...in meditation you shall see virtues which are needful to you for to have, as meekness, mildness, patience, rightwiseness, ghostly strength, temperance, peace, cleanness, and soberness, faith, hope, and charity.”¹

Most early monastic writers followed Gregory the Great’s lead in esteeming humility as the chief virtue, while most intellectual discourse observed the Augustinian emphasis on God-given charity – a gift which allowed humans to love God fully and which prevented actions and thoughts from being centered on the self. But what of the other virtues that figured in the religious life? Although meekness was not one of the three spiritual virtues of the Bible, or the four cardinal virtues extracted from Classical texts and embedded into medieval Christian theology, meekness nevertheless concerned the willing acceptance of God’s grace. This paper explores the significance of meekness in English anchoritic texts, including *Ancrene Wisse*, Richard Rolle’s *The Form of Living*, Walter Hilton’s *The Scale of Perfection*, the anonymous *The Cloud of Unknowing*, and Julian of Norwich’s *Revelations of Divine Love*. Hilton and the author of the *Cloud* address the nature and function of meekness primarily as a virtue of self-knowledge, which for Hilton is the first and last of all virtues, while Rolle sees the exercise of meekness as a sign of strength. For Julian of Norwich, meekness is modeled through the Virgin Mary and Christ’s behaviour, but the penitent seeking forgiveness must also exercise meekness. This paper suggests that meekness occupied a significant space in the panoply of anchoritic virtues.

“The virtue of peacemaking and the pastoral activities of medieval abbots” – Claire Macht

Peacemaking in the middle ages has usually been approached from the perspective of its political utility, its virtuous aspect merely a reflection of the religious vocation of the churchmen and women who most often interceded in conflicts. Rather than go over this well trodden ground, a new dimension of the virtue of peacemaking can be usefully explored through an examination of the pastoral activities of monastic abbots. Abbots governed both the internal and external relationships that determined the prosperity of the entire community. Their pastoral activities however, mediating conflict within the monastery and acting as advisors to monks in spiritual turmoil, provide further insight into the ways peacemaking was understood as a virtue within the monastic context and how it developed as a moral concept in the Middle Ages.

This paper will use a number of monastic chronicles to explore the pastoral activities of abbots and how the concept of peacemaking was embedded in their role of spiritual leadership. The foundation chronicles of the Yorkshire Cistercian monasteries (Fountains, Kirkstall, Byland and Jervaulx) will provide initial examples which, while reflecting a specific observance, also need to be read with an understanding of the wider context of their composition. English Benedictine chronicles will provide a contrast to the somewhat curated record of the northern Cistercians in order to fully explore the meaning of peacemaking as a virtue of monastic abbatial office.

¹ Walter Hilton, *Scale of Perfection*, Ch. 15.

“But we may share the burden: Counsel as a Virtue of Monastic Community” – Emilie Lavallee

Counsel, in its medieval conception, was a multifaceted virtue, and like many medieval virtues, subject to differing attempts at categorization. One of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, *consilium* was also strongly associated in the thirteenth century with the virtue of prudence and the Aristotelian concept of *euboulia*, or ‘deliberating well’. Although theological texts of the period naturally often focus on the solely spiritual aspect of counsel—counsel as divine illumination—this paper will instead focus on discussions of human counsel exercised by those living in religious community, first examining the more theoretical categorization of counsel within the medieval virtue framework before exploring how these ideals translated into texts of practical instruction.

Within a monastic context, the giving and receiving of good counsel could not be viewed as merely a bilateral exchange of advice. Rather, it was an intentional exercise of virtue which concerned the whole community, since as members of one body, they shared both in one another’s profit and in one another’s burdens. Monastic rules such as the Rule of St. Benedict therefore explicitly directed abbots to seek the counsel of their whole community, a principle further supported by canon law.

These ideas could also be brought together to exhort the community to good counsel, as we find in a monastic sermon on counsel from the thirteenth century (Oxford MS Bodl. 25). The sermon reminds the brothers that while good counsellors assist their fellow members, encouraging them towards good, bad counsellors injure not only themselves and those they counsel, but also the entire community. Good counsel is required to share the burdens of religious life; none of them can be self-sufficient. Counsel within a community, therefore, is seen as an important act of shared moral responsibility, one which was both highly spiritual and highly relational.

d. *Intermediaries in the Early Modern World I*

“An *agent du roi* before sultan Suleiman I: the *boiserie* of Jean Yversen” – Darren Smith

In 1559, French diplomat Jean Yversen left his post at Ragusa to join a mission to Istanbul as special envoy accompanying Jean Cavenac de la Vigne, then ambassador for Henri II to the Sublime Porte. Among other things, the mission sought to reassure sultan Suleiman I of the king’s continued accord with the Ottomans in the wake of the peace between Henri and Phillip II of Spain at Cateau-Cambrésis earlier that year.

Fifteen years later, back home in Gaillac, Yversen commissioned a large, carved *boiserie* to sit above a chimney. The *boiserie* depicts scenes from Yversen’s time in Istanbul, including his presentation before Suleiman, the sultan’s procession to Friday prayer, and the recently completed Sülemaniye mosque. These superbly detailed wood-carved scenes surround a portrait of the young diplomat foregrounding a Venetian backdrop. Today, the *boiserie* remains in private archives in Gaillac, along with correspondence and a travel report written by Yversen.

The *boiserie* represents an important artefact of France's evolving diplomatic relationship with the Ottomans in the sixteenth century. Indeed, from the outset, the French-Ottoman alliance saw the growth of texts focused on life at the Ottoman court and the Ottoman world more broadly, such as the reports of Guillaume Postel and Philippe Fresne-Canaye, as well as the well known costume illustrations of Nicolas de Nicolay. Yversen's name remains somewhat absent from the core literature on the French-Ottoman alliance in the sixteenth century.

This paper will draw together an analysis of the *boiserie*, as well as the documents from the Yversen archive. I shall position both sets of sources within France's evolving diplomatic presence in Istanbul, as well as contemporaneous French accounts of the Ottoman court.

“Mediating the Canon” – Elena Calvillo

The Croatian-born miniaturist Giulio Clovio (1498-1578) is best known for his small-scale adaptations of Michelangelo's designs. These works, whether exact copies of Michelangelo's presentation drawings or figural citations in larger compositions, reflect Clovio's ability to translate Michelangelo's figures: from large scale to small scale, from painted or sculpted media to miniature, or from one collection or culture to another. They also represent a form of cultural mediation, which occurred when Michelangelo's canonical figures--through the making of a copy—were sent from the site of their conception in Italy to Imperial centers in Austria and Spain, often in the form of a diplomatic gift. Clovio's ability to supply collectors with original drawings and copies made after originals, both by Michelangelo and other canonical artists, positioned him to act as an important cultural agent during the second half of the sixteenth century. His membership in the household of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, whose cultural patronage provided touchstone for aspiring collectors, and professional standing in Rome since the papacy of Leo X meant that Clovio was a valuable resource for artists and patrons, from El Greco and Cornelis Cort to Philip II. This paper examines the different and intersecting modes in which Clovio's artistic and curatorial practice served to mediate between cultures and individuals throughout mid-sixteenth-century Europe.

“Chinese Characters in the Spanish Court: The Manila Petition of 1598 to Philip II” – John N. Crossley & Anthony Wah-Cheung Lun

Most information concerning relations between Spain and China in the context of the early colonial Philippines comes from Spanish sources. In this paper we present a contribution from the Chinese. This concerns a unique letter, written in Chinese in 1598, to the Spanish king, Philip II, and transmitted to Spain by Dominican priests. Although Manila had been an important entrepôt in Asia for centuries, after the Spaniards settled there in 1565 trade with China rapidly expanded because of the silver from Peru. Consequently the Chinese population rapidly grew from a couple of hundred to thousands. These people were not only engaged in trade the Spaniards quickly came to rely on them for many trades and services. However relations between Chinese and Spaniards were always fraught: the Spaniards needed the Chinese but also feared them, especially as there were no more than a thousand or so Spaniards in Manila. The Chinese were therefore corralled into an area called the Parian and subjected to arduous taxes. The only protectors the Chinese had were the Dominican

priests who ministered to them: overseas Chinese were held in low esteem by the mainlanders. In desperation the oppressed Chinese wrote a letter in Chinese to King Philip II, and asked Bishop Benavides to convey it to the king. It was ‘translated’ into Spanish and the letter, translation and a covering letter were dispatched to Spain—and read by the king. This appears to be the only known letter from the period sent by non-Europeans to a European leader. We present the powerful letter in English translation.

e. *Gendering the Archive in the Longue Durée (sponsored by the Madden-Crawford Network)*

“Universality and Gender in the Scholastic Archive” – Clare Monagle

Scholastic discourse, which is bequeathed to us in treatises and commentaries, has not much to say about gender. There are moments, of course. Peter Lombard discusses why it was necessary that Christ be born a man. Aquinas accounts for the theological meanings of gender difference in human creatures. Dun Scotus helps us understand why Mary's own immaculate conception is not only plausible, but theologically necessary. But mostly, the language of scholastic theology is universalising and abstracted. And so too is the form in which these words are bequeathed. They texts, a great many of which were first edited in the nineteenth century, are collected in volumes of the *Patrologia Latina* or the *Corpus Christianorum* or the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. These series work to gate keep the tradition, and assign legitimacy to canonical scholastic texts. Needless to say, almost all of the authors contained in these volumes are men. This paper seeks to make apparent the occlude masculinity of these sources, as well as their manner of curation and collation. I do so in order to consider how unspoken gender norms have framed the practice of medieval intellectual history, during the Middle Ages, and modernity.

“Accounting for oneself in the convents of Renaissance Tuscany” – Emma Nicholls

Under the influence of both the archival and the material turns in the humanities, much recent scholarship has focused on property ownership and the record-keeping practices it entailed as critical conceptual building blocks in the shaping of early modern selves. Seen to be marginal participants in these activities, women have often been overlooked in explorations of the relationship between credit systems and self-articulation. From within convents, however, women produced and safe-guarded a wealth of administrative records. No one is denying this, but in terms of their ontological and political significance, the record books of nuns have generally been regarded as a genre apart from those of merchants and family men. Through a close reading of record books maintained by nuns, this paper explores how women as well as men used archive-building projects to fashion themselves and stake a claim in their polity. Equally importantly, the paper also underscores the repressive potential of the archive, and explores how religious women at times resisted the imposition of record-keeping protocols. In these ways, the paper challenges a historiography which has treated maleness as normative in processes of identity-formation.

“Silencing women in the modern era” – Diana Jefferies

The previous papers discuss how women can only construct their own identities if they are able to build their own archives and maintain their own set of rules around record keeping. Without this autonomy, women are defined within records and archives by men. In the Middle Ages, the men who kept records were often forced to turn to other models of what it means to be a woman because they lived apart from women and would only have limited

contact with them. In response to these papers, I argue that women are still silenced in archives and draw your attention to my own research looking at historical healthcare records of women who had been admitted to psychiatric hospitals in Sydney from 1885 to 1955 following childbirth. These women were defined by their symptoms and if anything that the woman said was documented in these records, it's purpose was to reinforce that the woman was insane. It is only by careful reading that the women's lives can be seen beyond the constructions forced upon them by those who write the records.

f. *Libraries and Librarians*

“Proposing a Context for the University of Sydney Fisher Library RB Add MS 349, an Early Modern *Graduale de Tempore*: Do we have a Salamanca Sibling?” – Jane Hardie

Fisher 349, a *Graduale de tempore*, contains liturgical chant for the Proper of the Mass from the first Sunday of Advent to Passion Sunday, and as the unfinished last item shows, the manuscript is now incomplete. In common with other large *cantoriales* of the same format, it may originally have ended on Holy Saturday, with the next book starting at Easter. The book contains aspects of a transitional liturgy that transcends the boundaries established both before and after the Council of Trent. While the texts of these Mass Proper items follow almost entirely those of the post-Tridentine Vatican Books, the chants for significant parts of this manuscript are pre-Tridentine, and many are identical to those in at least one Salamanca Cathedral book known to have been for Salamanca use, and are elaborated relations of chants from the medieval Toledo tradition. So, our book does something that was quite common in Spain around the time of liturgical change. Post-Tridentine texts were used, together with older, regionally-used chants thereby crossing established boundaries. In this paper I argue that aspects of this transitional practice, decoration and liturgy, as exemplified in Fisher 349 and other possibly related books, lead to the proposition that Fisher 349 was contemporary with other Salamanca Cathedral books and may have been either copied from them or have provided an exemplar for them. I believe that while it now lives in Sydney, it can justifiably be regarded as one of Salamanca's Siblings.

“Librarians and historians in Australian special collections: Categories, Boundaries, Horizons” – Anna Welch

In this paper, I wish to explore the past, present and future of special collections curatorship within an Australian context, as a field in which the interests and skills of historians and librarians overlap, at times uneasily. As libraries (both public and academic/research) adapt to digital methods of information provision and explore what types of services are needed and wanted in 21st-century libraries, academic/research libraries are also transformed by increasing numbers of researchers, particularly historians, working within them as librarians and as skills advisors. This occurs by primary choice, through the happenstance of opportunity, and sometimes, it must be acknowledged, as a result of the difficulties of obtaining secure employment in academia. I am an historian drawn by choice to working in our state rare book collection through my research specialisation in medieval manuscript studies and book history, and I am now also a qualified librarian.

In this paper, I will explore the long history of the librarian-scholar/scholar-librarian – today also known as the curatorial librarian – in order to reflect on the challenges and opportunities presented by the hybrid experience and knowledge such individuals bring to their roles. As a recent graduate of a librarianship degree, I will reflect on the skills prioritised in this training and also in the training of historians, and to what extent each responds to the requirements of special collections curatorship. This is not an abstract issue, but rather one with both practical

and ideological implications for the preservation of the historical record and its interpretation by future custodians. Questions about self-definition, about the categorisation of knowledge and expertise, and about the boundaries drawn within libraries and between libraries and academia will be examined in the course of exploring how research specialists fit into the complex contemporary library landscape.

g. Gendered authorship & voice: bending the boundaries of knowledge and literary form in Baroque Italy

“Categories of transgression: two early modern Venetian feminists on beauty, adornment, and freedom from patriarchal tyranny” – Amy Sinclair

In mid-seventeenth-century Venice, the question of women’s beauty and adornment became the platform for a rhetorically charged literary debate about the nature and status of women. The polemical contributions to this debate by two women writers transgressed the conventional boundaries of early modern women’s authorship and reconfigured the debate by offering women writers’ perspectives. But their arguments were markedly different. The *Antisatire* (1644) by outspoken nun and writer, Arcangela Tarabotti, reversed the claims of a recently published, highly misogynistic satire of female luxury to argue for women’s right to adorn themselves. Tarabotti’s older contemporary, renowned author Lucrezia Marinella, responded in her *Exhortations to Women* (1645) with an ostensibly opposite position: exhorting women to pursue modesty in dress and ornamentation. Although overtly conservative, Marinella’s exhortation is underpinned by critique of the way in which women’s beauty and adornment lead to their subjection to a masculinist value system. Thus, whilst Tarabotti defends women’s right to adornment as a freedom, for Marinella *rejecting* such adornment is freedom.

This paper traces through comparative analysis the often contradictory threads of feminism in the discourses of these two women writer contemporaries. It aims to challenge any essentialist assumptions about female-authored writing about women, and to emphasise the nuances of the boundaries and categories of “feminism” and “feminist” in the context of mid-seventeenth-century Venice. The comparative analysis highlights, moreover, the individualised way in which these authors adapted male-dominated literary traditions to argue for women’s freedom from patriarchy in an increasingly hostile climate for women writers. Attending to such nuances fosters a fuller understanding of the diversity of early modern women’s writing, their perspectives on women’s subordination, and how they negotiated distinctive discursive authority and identities to challenge that subordination.

“Margherita Costa’s burlesque and grotesque voices: stretching the boundaries of genre and gender relations” – Julie Robarts

Opera singer, and author of poetry and theatrical works, Margherita Costa (fl. 1628-57) was the first Italian female author to publish poetry and love letters that drew on burlesque and grotesque literary traditions. By examining Costa’s poetry, this paper considers how she stretched the boundaries of baroque poetic form, produced her male and female poetic and epistolary voices, and breached categories of gendered knowledge and authority.

“Ovidian transgressions: Navigating boundaries of gender and genre in *Seicento* poetry” – Julia Pelosi-Thorpe

The *Heroides* are a collection of poems in which Ovid, their ancient Roman author, ventriloquises the voices of popular male and female mythic figures. Each poem features a marginalised epic or tragic heroine. In three instances, heroes respond to their heroine. The poems are structured as letters to other figures from their mythic narrative, where the heroic female voices express their love and despair. Sixteen hundred years later, baroque authors engaged in rewritings of this ancient Roman work. In particular, several *epistole eroiche* written by Italian male authors reinterpreted Ovid's gendered ventriloquism and impersonation.

This paper explores how these baroque rewritings of Ovid's poetry navigated boundaries of gender and genre. The *epistole eroiche* collections variously negotiate the transgressive gender dynamics of their classical heritage. By examining the male and female personae of the *epistole eroiche* as rewritings of the male authorship and mostly-female heroines of the *Heroides*, this paper seeks to reveal Italian *Seicento* attitudes towards gendered writing, and divisions or transgressions in this discursive territory.

h. Conflict, Influence, Punishment: Religious Authority in Medieval and Early Modern Europe

“Asserting Episcopal Authority in the Dioceses of Hereford and London during King Stephen of England's Reign (1135-1154)” – Kyly Walker

The reign of King Stephen (1135–54) was a notoriously tumultuous period in English history, characterised by conflict and uncertainty. Stephen had seized the throne from Empress Matilda, his uncle Henry I's nominated heir, and she, her son the future Henry II, and various powerful laymen opposed Stephen throughout his reign. Additionally, magnates and other nobleman took advantage of the lack of royal oversight, caused by the fighting between Stephen and Matilda, to pursue personal feuds, increase their landholdings, and expand their areas of influence.

Amid the disputes and chaos, England's bishops were endeavouring to assert their authority. Until recently, bishops have been labelled as either Stephenists or Matildines, which has obscured other influences on episcopal activity. In order to successfully wield their authority, the bishops not only had to negotiate the disputed royal succession, but also a complicated web of networks that criss-crossed their dioceses and beyond. Bishops Robert de Béthune of Hereford (1131–48) and Robert de Sigillo of London (1141–50) were two prelates who succeeded in asserting their authority. They had to deal with several competing groups in society, royal, secular, and ecclesiastical, to exercise their influence, and used various methods to ensure their success. In this paper, I will demonstrate that stripping back previous labels and focussing on the contemporary and near-contemporary sources helps us gain a clearer picture of how the two Roberts maintained and asserted their authority during a difficult and dangerous time.

“Power on the Borders: The Bishop of Le Puy as a Strategic Ally in Medieval Languedoc” – Mimi Petrakis

Now located in the modern Auvergne region of southern France, the diocese of Le Puy is a relatively small and presumably unremarkable one. Much of the literature to date has focused on the infamous cult of the black Madonna housed within it, noting the many eminent visitors to the shrine without considering how these may have factored into wider quests for authority. Despite the prominent Marian cult, the diocese's location on the borders of medieval Aquitaine, Burgundy, and Toulouse in fact rendered Le Puy and its bishop

incredibly influential. This is demonstrated by the bishop's role within most of the major struggles for spiritual and temporal power over Western Europe from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Examining interactions between the diocese and aristocratic, royal, and papal figures during this period, this paper will consider their relationships with Le Puy's bishop as part of greater strategies for asserting control. In doing so, I will highlight how the diocese's location on the borders made Le Puy a key ally in any attempts to assert or consolidate authority over the whole of medieval Languedoc.

“Punishment, Redemption, and Reward: Miracle Stories and Nuns' Writing in Post-Tridentine Italy” – Rosa Martorana

Miracle stories recorded in the writings of nuns, particularly those in convent chronicles, are rarely considered as a category of study in their own right, despite the emphasis placed on these miracles by their authors.

The chronicle of Le Murate, in its seventy-seven-chapter (179 folio) history of the convent, includes more than fifty miraculous events recorded from the convent's foundation in 1390 until 1598, the present day of its author Sister Giustina Niccolini. The types of miracles included are varied; there are tales of reward, punishment, redemption, individual and community protection, healing and mystical visions.

Written during a period of religious reform, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the inclusion of miracles relating to the nuns and their convent is significant as it emphasises the nuns' piety and highlights the central role miracles played in their lives. Focussing primarily on miracles that function as exemplars of behaviour for the nuns—namely those of reward, punishment and redemption—this paper examines how behaviour considered to be virtuous was rewarded through divine intervention, whilst sinful behaviour was initially punished and, ultimately, redeemed.

Parallel Session 2:

a. *Medievalism and Indigeneity*

This roundtable examines the medieval-inflected appropriation of discourses of indigeneity by white nationalist-racist groups in Europe and elsewhere. As many scholars within medieval studies are aware, one of the challenges the discipline currently faces is how to speak back to the racist instrumentalisation of the Middle Ages in public life. Within this instrumentalisation, one of the lesser-known but pervasive strategies of self-authorisation used by individuals and groups is the appropriation of political discourses developed within indigenous politics, in order to claim European 'indigenous whiteness' based in the medieval past. This panel, comprising an Indigenous Studies expert, a scholar of race and the Middle Ages (who is also a leading member of the Medievalists of Color collective) and two scholars of medievalism and colonialism, will examine the forms and ideological claims of this appropriation, and discuss how to formulate effective responses to dismantle it.

b. *Intermediaries in the Early Modern World II*

“Italian Merchants in the Spanish World” – Nicholas Baker

The Botti family, originally from Cremona, settled in Florence in the early fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century, five brothers—Matteo, Simone, Iacopo, Giovanbattista, and Francesco—developed a wide-ranging commercial network that bridged the Atlantic and Mediterranean worlds, stretching from the Canary Islands to the Levant. Several volumes of *copialelettere* and *ricordi*, now housed in the Archivio di stato in Florence, permit insight into the lives and commercial operations of an otherwise largely anonymous family through the turbulent central decades of the sixteenth century. Through these archival remnants, this paper will examine the ways that mercantile practice mediated across and between cultures in the emergent early modern global economy, tracing the attitudes, sentiments, and values that shaped the dynamics of Botti network. It will focus, in particular, on the figure of Iacopo Botti, who took up residence in Seville, married into the Catalan merchant Font family, and became active in Spanish colonial and commercial activities in the Atlantic. In doing so, it will consider how this small, family archive provides an intimate, micro-level perspective on larger histories and narratives of the shifting nature of commerce in the Mediterranean and Atlantic, and the role of merchants as intermediaries in the early modern world.

“A Great Peece of an Excellent Master: Daniel Skynner, Cloth Merchant Turned Art Broker”
– Heather Dalton

Daniel Skynner was a cloth merchant from Dover who moved to Antwerp in 1608. Once there, he imported and exported a variety of goods, including wheat, gunpowder, tallow, beef and all kinds of cloth. He raised a large family there with all eleven of his children being born in Antwerp. Skynner's life encapsulates the usual commercial and religious dramas associated with being an English merchant living abroad during the first half of the seventeenth century. He claimed, for example, that he had been forced by the Flemish authorities to have all his children “baptized by the Romish priests.” Like many other merchants in his situation, Skynner constantly sought support and advice from those close to the establishment back home. In his letters to William Turnbull, the English king's agent in Den Haag, Skynner provided information he thought might be of use, intersected by complaints about his

treatment at the hands of customs officials. It appears that Turnbull must have provided some mediation with Dutch officials, for Skynner began to import goods specifically for him. In this paper I will be focusing on a request Skynner made of his patron in 1625 - to provide him with advice as to who was buying art so that "I may vent some of my pieces in London." I will focus on eight paintings Skynner claimed were by Italian or Flemish masters, and consider the provenance of these paintings and how and why an English cloth merchant from Dover took on the role of international art broker.

"Averroes, Pico della Mirandola and Elia del Medigo: Translators, Mediators, Commentators" – Darius Sepehri

Islamic Philosophy was a mediator between the ancient world and Medieval and Early Modern Europe, with Arabic to Latin translation crucial as catalyst and agent in European philosophical disciplines. Latin translations of Averroes' Arabic commentaries on Aristotle, for example, were read side-by-side with Aristotelian texts. Between the 13th and 16th centuries, Averroism was both institutionally supported (declared mandatory by the Parisian arts faculty in 1255, dominating Italian universities) and ecclesiastically denounced in 1277 and 1489. The Averroist thesis of unicity of the intellect was especially controversial. Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), who studied Averroism in Padua from 1480- 1482, commissioned a Jewish Averroist, Elia del Medigo, to translate Averroes from Hebrew (thus accessing texts unavailable in Latin) and to compose a commentary on Averroes, the *Two Investigations on the Nature of the Human Soul*. Pico's commission of this super-commentary by Del Medigo supplemented their meetings, which Pico used to inform his planned conference at Rome in 1487 presenting 900 theses (*Conclusiones*). Del Medigo thus acted as a bridge between Hebrew and Latin Averroist traditions, as Averroes did between Aristotle and his interpreters. In this paper, I will examine the influence of Averroes on Pico's *Conclusiones* and its concordistic strategy, with attention to the Averroist separation of religion and philosophy and its connection to Pico's espousal of "correspondences". I will examine del Medigo's translation and reading of Averroes and its relation to Pico's thought. In doing so, I uncover sites of mediation between Islamic, Jewish and Christian philosophical traditions.

c. *The Scientific Revolution I*

"The Protestant Reformation and the Scientific Revolution Revisited" – Peter Harrison

The idea that there was a scientific revolution has faced significant challenges in recent years. This has been the result of a general scepticism about traditional historical periodizations and 'big picture' histories, along with more specific concerns about whether there was an early modern 'science' that could have been the subject of some revolutionary epochal change. This paper will set out some new proposals about how specifically Protestant ways of structuring history made a significant contribution to the idea of an early modern reform of scientific knowledge, thus contributing to the construction of the category of 'the scientific revolution'. At the same time, it will also show how this analysis may give us reasons for retaining at least some features of this threatened historiographical category.

“Diagrams and Illustrations in Seventeenth-century Hydrostatics: A Symptomatic Reading” – Alan Chalmers

A glance at Simon Stevin’s *Elements of Hydrostatics* (1586) and Blaise Pascal’s *Equilibrium of Liquids* (1654) reveals a stark contrast between the types of diagram or illustration used in those texts. In Stevin’s text many geometrical texts accompany his Euclidean-style proofs. Pascal’s text, by contrast, contains just one illustration that pictures a number of experimental set-ups in semi-realistic fashion. Boyle’s *Hydrostatic Paradoxes* (1666), which is a commentary on Pascal’s *Treatise*, follows Pascal insofar as there are just two illustrative pictures of experimental set-ups. It is tempting to interpret this circumstance as signifying a move from the Euclidean or Archimedean style of doing science that Stevin and inherited from his predecessors to the new experimental science as practiced by Pascal and Boyle. However, when Newton framed his version of hydrostatics, both in an unpublished manuscript from around 1670 and in the more polished version in the *Principia* in 1687, he reverted to geometrical diagrams and Euclidean-style proofs, with no reference to or pictures of experimental set-ups. I use this state of affairs to throw light on the character of the new mathematical and experimental science that emerged in the seventeenth century.

“Reassessing Atheism in the Scientific Revolution” – James Lancaster

Broadly conceived, the study of nature going back to Aristotle shares – to varying degrees – a commitment to naturalism, to explaining the physical world of experience in natural (non-preternatural, non-supernatural, non-miraculous) terms. After the Scientific Revolution, this commitment to naturalistic explanation increasingly came to the forefront of ‘science’ as it began to emerge across its modern disciplinary forms. But questions about the scope and implications of scientific naturalism were no less debated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of particular concern during the Scientific Revolution was the hotly contested matter of whether naturalism implied atheism. To be sure, many of the key figures – Copernicus, Kepler, Bacon, Descartes, Boyle, Newton – were themselves devoutly religious; they often saw their natural philosophical endeavours as being not only unopposed, but actively supportive of, and ancillary to, their religious convictions. Nevertheless, the period of the Scientific Revolution was also the period of the Protestant Reformation, and one that witnessed a rush of anxieties about the spread of heterodoxy and unbelief. Within this context, it was difficult to avoid charges that the naturalistic methods pioneered by natural philosophers were corrosive of theological conviction and authority. Where Bacon and Gassendi were careful to avoid the charge of atheism by prefacing or withholding the publication of their work, for instance, Descartes’ critics at the Sorbonne show he was not so fortunate. It is safe to say that the relationship between philosophical naturalism and atheism was a complicated one. In response, this paper will attempt to tease apart the threads that bound concerns about atheism to the new sciences during the Scientific Revolution in order to point to some more general patterns for understanding their complex relationship.

d. *Crusades I: Categories Medieval and Modern*

“The Mockery of Dreams: Crusade Narratives and the Categorisation of Visionary Experience” – Beth Spacey

In his twelfth-century Latin narrative history of the First Crusade, Baldric of Bourgueil insisted that a particular crusade participant had experienced a ‘vision’ (*uisionem*), and not ‘imagination’ (*fantasiam*), nor the ‘trifling of dreams’ (*somniorum ludificacionem*). Baldric’s contemporary, Guibert of Nogent, noted that another visionary initially feared they had

merely witnessed the ‘mockery of dreams’ (*ludibriis somniorum*). These and similar descriptions reveal the significance of the relationship between the delusory, mundane and revelatory visionary experience, and the importance of accurately distinguishing between them. In discussing these visions, that accompany accounts of the discovery of the relic of the Holy Lance at Antioch in June 1098, Colin Morris suggests that the terminology used to describe visions in crusade narratives is imprecise and interchangeable. This is sometimes the case. However, this paper will argue that certain authors can be shown to have participated in sophisticated theoretical discourse on visions, and employed terminology with subtle conceptual differentiations in mind. Consequently, crusade histories should be approached with greater sensitivity to the potential for nuanced discussion of visionary experience. It will do this by examining examples of engagement with fifth-century intellectual authorities on dream and vision hierarchies, and by comparing the treatment of visionary phenomena across textual traditions.

“How to Categorize a *Crucesignatus*? Wearing the Cross in the Medieval West, c. 1095 – c. 1300” – James Kane

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, historians of the crusades became embroiled in a conceptual dispute revolving around a single question: what were the crusades? Although there is a general consensus that Pope Urban II ushered in something new when he preached the First Crusade in 1095, the definitional boundaries of crusading remain hotly contested in many quarters. The argument encompasses the categorisation of crusaders themselves, who came to be known as *crucesignati* (or ‘[people] signed with the cross’) in the twelfth century in reference to the foundational Christian symbol that they wore on their garments. This paper traces the shifting usage and conception of the cloth cross in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Examining the evolution of this emblem not only in the crusading context, but also against the backdrop of proliferating religious movements, the establishment of the various military orders, and the punishment of heresy, it argues that wider developments in European society had a profound impact on the significance of the cloth cross and the way in which *crucesignati* were defined. By the mid-thirteenth century, if not earlier, *crucesignati* had ceased to fall into a category that moved intact across different boundaries in the medieval West. Instead, as this paper contends, understandings of what it meant to be a *crucesignatus* or *crucesignata* varied in subtle but distinctive ways from region to region, between languages, and in shifting political contexts.

“(Re)defining the ideal crusader – gender and crusading ideals in the ‘recovery treatises’ of the early fourteenth century” – Natasha Hodgson

‘Anyone who is unable to cross the sea owing to the burden of age, weakness of body, infirmity of flesh, or fragility of sex grieves, sighs and groans, either because God does not prolong their lives so that they may see, or because he does not restore their strength and manliness (*virtutem*) so that they are strong enough to fight, or because God created them such that they are unsuited for arms to vindicate the death of the Lord.’²

Following the fall of Acre in 1291 a number of texts were written offering suggestions as to how the Holy Land could be regained successfully. Over thirty of these so-called ‘recovery

² William of Adam, *How to defeat the Saracens* ed. and trans. Giles Constable, Ranabir Chakravarti, Olivia Remie Constable, Tia Kolbaba & Janet M. Martin (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2012), 56-7.

treatises' remain, demonstrating that there was a considerable demand for such literature up to about 1336, and that the popularity of the crusade movement, especially in elite circles, had not yet waned. Most authors were concerned with the practicalities of planning and financing an expedition, but some also imparted moral advice and criticised previous crusaders or those perceived to be inhibiting the crusade effort. They highlighted ideals of leadership and gave opinions about how Christian society ought to be established in territories once they were successfully reconquered. These were all arenas in which ideas about gender could proliferate. Using select texts as a lens through which to measure gendered ideals this paper will examine how ideas about gender and crusade developed and changed following the loss of the Holy Land and during the reconfiguration of crusading practices in the later medieval period.

e. *Early Modern Blood and Spirits: The Boundaries of Medicine and Theology*

“Sanguine Systems: Congruities between Sacred and Secular Theories of Blood in Early Modern English Medical Texts” – Karin Sellberg

According to traditional histories of European medicine, ideas of how blood circulates around the body changed radically in the first half of the seventeenth century, with the publication of William Harvey's *De Motu Cordis* (1628). Historians of science, such as Thomas Henry Huxley (1878) and Thomas Wright (2012), argue that this publication brought about a new set of insights into the general circularity of the body's resources, and a secularization of spirit, mind and bodily functions. However, a number of English vernacular texts predating Harvey's magnum opus, including Nicholas Gyer's *The English Phlebotomy* (1592), John Harward's *Phlebotomy* (1601) and Helkiah Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia* (1615), already developed a natural philosophy of blood, focusing on the circulation and balancing of sanguine spirits and passions, albeit this perspective on blood was not entirely divorced from theological notions.

This paper will argue that historians of science have overlooked the central congruity between secular and sacred perspectives on spirit and blood in early modern thought. In fact, practically all the canonical English authors on theories of blood and practices of blood letting were trained in theology as well as surgery or physic, and often practiced in both fields. As S. Manning Stevens (1997), Gail Kern Paster (2004) and John Henry (2006) have shown, sacred and secular notions of spirit, passions and the humoral body share a common language in early modern English science, and ideas of circularity were widespread in medical as well as in theological conceptions of the body. Distributions of blood and spirit throughout the body could not be fully explained by either theology or natural philosophy alone, but required the presence of both perspectives.

“Side Interest: Anatomy, History, and the Wounds of Christ” – Trish Ross

Medicina sacra was “the ability to heal well, deduced from sacred letters.” Though largely overlooked by historians, it was a widespread project framed by early modern writers across confessions and across disciplines retrospectively to evaluate the Bible for what it teaches about medicine.

My paper will introduce some key questions and methods in this lively, multi-faceted early modern scholarly literature by focusing on a select group of texts within the genre of *medicina sacra*: those dedicated to analyzing the passion and crucifixion of Christ. The seventeenth century saw at least four book-length studies on the topic, as well as multiple disputations and references in anatomy text books. I focus in particular on debates about the location and depth of the wound in Christ's side and the fluids that came out of it, debates

that attracted physicians, theologians, and philologist-historians alike. Central to all of it is Thomas Bartholin's *De latere Christi* (1646), inspired in part by his effort to prove claims in his father Caspar's *Institutiones anatomicae* correct after others attacked it. To that end, Thomas Bartholin drew on his expertise as an anatomist and his participation in debates about the heart and pericardium as a contemporary of Harvey, but also his keen interest in antiquities and languages.

My paper will outline the main concerns and questions that occupied physicians writing on Christ's passion and side wound, highlighting how their concerns to speculate on Christ's body and its suffering derived both from their medical expertise and their religious interests. In doing so, my paper will question how and to what extent an early modern project like *medicina sacra* blurred the boundaries between medicine and religion.

“Heterodox Physicians and Theological Scholarship” – Michelle Pfeffer

In early modern Europe there were spirited debates over the immortality and immateriality of the soul. In a context in which the proper *scientia de anima* had not been settled, it was not uncommon for physicians to enter the fray. Yet when the physician William Coward (1657–1724) began publishing on the soul in 1702, he put his career at risk by claiming that humans were composed entirely of matter, and that there was no such thing as an immortal soul. Coward's medical practice taught him that diseases of the brain were closely linked to the so-called diseases of the soul, and he advocated the physician's right to investigate the grounds of their faith.

However, Coward's heterodox books were not medical works, and close study of his reading practices suggests that his heterodox views were not primarily grounded in medicine. Instead, at their heart were theological and historical claims. Coward maintained that the biblical Hebrews, with their notion that the soul was the blood, were mortalists and materialists, and that the ancient pagans had invented the soul. While Coward has been studied as a physician, he has not been studied as a scholar, and this paper will argue that his contentious views grew out of his engagement with broader scholarly debates over such critical questions as the presence of future rewards and punishments in the Pentateuch; the history of the Sadducees; and the ability for unenlightened pagans to comprehend divine truths.

f. Women and the Law in Early Modern European Worlds

“Women, whether maids or widows, ought not to be chosen: women's roles in the early modern English courtroom” – Jane Bitomsky

Election to the role of an early modern legal official, both in the parish and in the courts, was determined by a combination of property ownership and educational qualifications. By virtue of the doctrine of coverture and the exclusively male tertiary educational institutions, women were precluded from assuming such roles. However, their cultural jurisdiction over ‘women-matters/Smock-secrets’ meant that some women were accorded a unique investigatory role as matron jurors. The matron jury was tasked with determining whether a condemned female felon who pled her belly was ‘quick with child or not (i.e. pregnant).’ Their judgement engendered the execution and reprieve of these female felons. The confinement of the matron jury's role to ‘women-matters’ prompted Bernard Capp's assertion that ‘female juries gave women an important if circumscribed role in the judicial process.’ This paper examines how women exhibited their maternal and matriarchal authority within the early modern legal system through their role as matron jurors. Through the analysis of 114 matron jury lists

taken from the Home Circuit assizes (encompassing the counties of Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Surrey and Sussex) between 1576 and 1659, I determine whether we can ascribe matron jurors any agency or whether they were simply cogs in the early modern courtroom that reinforced the overarching patriarchal structure of this legal institution.

“Exploiting boundaries and performing gender in Early Modern Iberia? The Inquisitorial Trial of Maria Duran” – Francois Soyer

On 21 June 1744, during a solemn public ceremony held in Lisbon, a Spanish woman named Maria Duran was condemned by the Inquisition for having made a pact with the Devil. The condemnation was the result of multiple accusations by other women that Maria, a novice in a Dominican convent, had sexual intercourse with them and possessed a “male member” whilst medical examinations found no evidence to support these claims. Fortunately for historians, Maria Duran’s complete and extraordinarily voluminous trial dossier survives in the Portuguese National Archives in Lisbon.

Her trial offers us a rare glimpse into a hidden world in eighteenth-century Europe: not only that of cross-dressing and female homosexual intercourse but also that of rigid social norms of gendered behaviour. The witnesses, inquisitors and wider early eighteenth-century Iberian society clearly embraced a binary conception of gender and norms rested upon highly stereotyped behaviour. Neither the inquisitors, nor the women Maria had intercourse with, were able to process Maria’s behaviour. This paper argues that although it may never be possible to know Maria Duran’s conception of her own gender, it can be argued that she was nevertheless a consummate actor, who knew how to play upon the ambient gender norms and manipulate them to her advantage. She was aware that to get what she wanted she had to be seen to act “like a man”, whether it was pretending to urinate against a wall whilst serving in the Spanish royal arm or behaving in a sexually aggressive manner with the women she wanted to bed.

This paper will engage with Judith Butler’s work on the performativity of gender as a social construct to argue that, to a considerable extent, gender could indeed be performed in eighteenth-century Spain and Portugal. Her acting and dissembling was so successful that it completely bamboozled the men and women she interacted with, leaving them unwilling to believe that she her sex was that of a biological woman and suspecting a pact with the Devil.

“Movement and Exile: Spanish Women and the Colonial Inquisition in New Spain 1536-1538” – Juan Manuel Ramirez Velazquez

María de Armenta and María de Sotomayor were tried during the Episcopal Inquisition in the Mexico City, New Spain in 1536 and 1538. Both of the trials shared accusations of carnal relations with men when in these particular situations sexual relations were prohibited by the Holy Office and the Catholic Church. During the first years of New Spain’s conquest, Spaniards considered these territories as an escape from the Iberian Peninsula and the Canary Islands, especially having in mind the expectation of greater social mobility. Therefore, it is common, although not very relevant in the studies of the Inquisition until recent years, to find women travelling from Spain to New Spain by themselves in search of a better future and leaving behind their difficult lives in Spain. The urge of these women for a better economic and social situation is related to what other scholars have appointed in a variety of studies which explore Spanish culture as the epicenter of the gender stereotypes’ producer with the Spanish Church and Inquisition as the main supervisor of the factory.

This is how the two cases studied in this article show us the position and the function of poor Spanish women in a society that is not homogeneous yet. The two trials analyzed in this article are a perfect example of the quite chaotic judicial and legislative power in the New World. I argue that the trials of De Armenta and De Sotomayor embody the ways in which the

ecclesiastical authorities did not know what to do and how to handle these boisterous women who lived on the edge, who broke the Spanish social system and thought of New Spain as a space where the hegemonic laws did not apply as in the peninsula. Therefore, as a consequence, the inquisitors just opted to send them away, exiled them from these recently-populated territories so they would not disrupt the nascent and barely-implemented patriarchal-Catholic system in the City of Mexico.

g. Shakespearean Categories & Boundaries

“Topical invention and Shakespeare’s ‘catalogues,’ ‘tables,’ and ‘inventories’ – Kirk Dodd

My research examines Shakespeare’s applications of Cicero’s topics of invention; a formal system of 16 topics used by orators to help *invent* material for their speeches (definition, partition, genus, species, etc.). While the evidence that Shakespeare used these methods to invent material is compelling, it is difficult to locate passages where Shakespeare alludes more directly to these methods themselves. Shakespeare uses the word “invention” many times, but are these references to topical invention or merely to poetic production? The Latin term for the topics was “*loci*” (places) or “*sedes*” (seats), because the topics were conceived as temporal places in the mind where information was *located* waiting to be discovered (or invented) by an author. Theories for memorization (mnemonics) were also founded on this idea of *loci* in the mind, but mnemonics was concerned with *placing* observations into their appointed *locus*. Similarly, writers in the Renaissance were encouraged to keep commonplace books, often called “Tables” (table-books), partitioned according to specific categories or “topics,” so the author could record their ideas in a locatable place as a storehouse for future writing. Beginning with two passages from Shakespeare—Hamlet’s, “Remember thee?! Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a *seat*/ In this distracted globe.../ Yea, from the table of my memory/ I’ll wipe away all trivial fond records.../ That youth and *observation* copied there,” and Jaques’s, “in his brain/... he hath strange *places* cramm’d/ With *observation*, the which hevents/*In* mangled forms,” this paper will argue that Shakespeare does acknowledge his training in the topics, but that his allusions are often construed as biblio-conceits (“catalogues”, “tables”, “volumes”, “inventories”, “abstracts”, and “briefs”) chosen for their functional ability to categorize or reference as much as their physical attributes as books or written documents.

“Books in the running brooks: regional Shakespeare and the boundary between text and space” – Claire Hansen

William Shakespeare's *As You Like It* famously constructs - and immediately problematises - the boundary between court and country. Duke Senior tells his followers:

And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.

(2.1.15-17)

This paper seeks to investigate the relationship between ‘books’ and ‘brooks’ in its examination of the way in which Shakespearean texts are understood in the environments where they are taught and researched. In particular, this paper will focus on Shakespeare’s texts in regional or rural contexts. How are boundaries between text and space problematised

by the explicit connection of Shakespeare's plays to the local environments in which they are experienced? This discussion will draw on both ecocritical frameworks and place-based learning in order to examine the way in which we construct our sense of place and how this affects – or can be utilised in – research and teaching (both at secondary and tertiary levels). This will also generate an interrogation of the categorisation of regional, rural and remote place, and how such categorisations may impact upon Shakespeare pedagogy and research.

“Love thy non-Christian neighbour as thyself? *The Merchant of Venice* and unneighbourly hatred” – Roberta Kwan

In Shakespeare's England, the biblical injunction ‘love thy neighbour as thyself’ delineated an ethic that was widely promoted as normative. Yet the accentuation of this ethic across a spectrum of public discourses indicates that while the principle of neighbourly love was, in Arnold Hunt's words, ‘held in universally high esteem’, the practice of neighbourly love was a lot less ubiquitous. Social relations were under increasing strain. This circumstance brought to the fore a question that echoed down the ages from the text of the New Testament: If a Christian is to love her neighbour to the extent that she loves herself, who is her neighbour? Can neighbourly love be bounded? No, according to sixteenth-century theologians. John Calvin, for instance, argues that because ‘the term “neighbour” includes even the most remote person [...] we ought to embrace the whole human race without exception in a single feeling of love’.

In *The Merchant of Venice*, the Christians' delimiting of the recipients of their ‘embrace’ clearly jars with this sentiment. Unneighbourly hatred, especially of the non-Christian and racially different neighbour—the ‘stranger’—embitters and makes disquieting this comedy that contains manifold declarations and expressions of love. Of course, in *Merchant*, unneighbourliness extends two-ways. In this paper, I seek to read the intertwined enactments of complex unneighbourliness and bounded neighbourly love that shape much of *Merchant*'s action in light of the ethic of loving one's neighbour as oneself. I aim to both engage with the ongoing debate about how to interpret *Merchant* and explore the biblical ethic's outworking in early modern England. Is Shakespeare reflecting, or is he critiquing, his society's growing anxiety about, and antipathy towards, the stranger? How did this society embody and, importantly, circumscribe the biblical ethic with which Shakespeare's first audiences would have been very familiar?

h. Spaces and Faces of Authority

“Sherwood Forest, Robin Hood, and the early modern greenwood myth” – Sara Morrison

Sherwood Forest, the literary home of Robin Hood would disappoint early seventeenth century theatre goers. Only a tenth of the forest was wooded in 1609. Robin and his Merry Men would have had a hard time finding shelter and a hiding place amongst the boughs of Sherwood. Robin Hood's legendary home was predominantly open and barren heath, clothed with carpets of heather and bracken, with small islands of cultivation and woodland.³ These woods described by John Leland in 1540 were well past their prime by 1608. These ancient oaks, decaying and stag-headed, and well past maturity, were haunting reminders of the once youthful forest of Robin's greenwood.⁴

³. The National Archives, LR 2/194 f. 21.

⁴. L.T. Smith, ed., *The Itinerary of John Leland*, London, 1907, reprint Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964, I, 94; Commissioners to Enquire into the Woods, Forests and Land Revenues of the Crown, *14th*

There were competing visions of royal forests in early Stuart England. Forests were dark and threatening places in the world of Elizabethan and early Jacobean politics, but they were also a magical greenwood in popular literature. Perhaps both were imaginary worlds, with the true life of royal Sherwood Forest lying somewhere in between the forest of politics and popular theatre. Whether or not the greenwood existed in 1600 was not as important as its impact on popular culture and perception of the forests. The myth of the greenwood forest was deeply embedded in the psyche of late Elizabethan and Jacobean England and has continued to shape the historical interpretations of the Sherwood Forest landscape.

“Lovesick or Homesick: A Reassessment of the Marriage of Mary Tudor and Charles Brandon” – Rosalind Mearns

The 1515 marriage of Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII of England, and Charles Brandon is commonly assumed to have been a love match. Contracted in secret at the French court following the death of Mary’s first husband, Louis XII of France, Mary’s role in the marriage is invariably portrayed as that of a love-struck girl desperate to be with the English knight who had stolen her heart. Yet, almost all of the evidence in support of this interpretation comes from letters written by Mary and Charles after their marriage had taken place. The primary function of these letters was to gain the pardon of Henry VIII and were composed in such a way as to obfuscate any other reasoning behind the marriage. The possibility that Mary was aware of the political implications of her actions was deliberately obscured. To address these issues this paper will re-examine the evidence surrounding the marriage of Mary Tudor and Charles Brandon. It will aim to redefine Mary’s role in events and develop a more nuanced understanding of her choices. Finally, it will propose that, for her part, marriage to Brandon was not motivated by love but was a carefully calculated decision designed to remove her for the dynastic marriage market and ensure her permanent return to England.

“Age, Agedness and Ageism in Royal Portraiture: The Curious Cases of Elizabeth I and Richard III” – Jitka Stollova

Royal bodies have never been private. A monarch’s wrinkled skin becomes a scripted testimony of his or her political power and its inevitable demise. The Tudor dynasty effectively used portraiture to promote their vision of royal majesty. In the final years of Elizabeth’s reign, the depictions of her age oscillated between carefully navigated realism and allegorization which veiled her wrinkles in agelessness.

Against this background, however, the visual representation of another monarch was being forged: that of Richard III (1452-1585). The scholarly and popular attention typically given to Richard’s alleged deformity has failed to account for another distortion in his representation: elderliness and ageist prejudice. Despite being in his early 30s when he died at the Battle of Bosworth, Richard was depicted as progressively more decrepit throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both in paintings, woodcuts and engraving, and ultimately also in literary texts.

Richard's posthumous visual representation, developed throughout Elizabeth's long life, opens up a space for a comparative study which transcends the usual taxonomies of royal bodies. Exploring the interpretative tension between Richard's imagined elderliness and Elizabeth's actual ageing, this paper examines the different connotations of masculine and feminine senescence, and how the very category of 'age' was manipulated to emphasise the political conflict between the Plantagenets and the Tudors. Furthermore, this paper aims to expand the existing narrative of Richard's disability into a broader statement about prejudices and expectations concerning a monarch's appearance.

Parallel Sessions 3

a. *The Horizons of Queenship (sponsored by the Royal Studies Network)*

“Lost Horizons: The Power of French Queens and Royal Women in a Post-*Lex Salica* Reality” – Zita Rohr

It should come as no surprise that, despite the galvanization activities of the Valois chancellery to rouse life into the Frankish *lex Salica* and its legislative programme to codify the institution of its monarchy, women, because of their private ties to the king and to their children, continued to immerse themselves in both public and private spheres of power and influence. There has been a marked shift in premodern political history away from the study of the formal or professional sphere of institutions and office bearers towards informal political spheres, such as the non-institutional and domestic. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that all political systems have been produced within an informal political arena alongside government. Institutional leadership by women might not have been possible in France and pre-Isabelline Spain but women had a role to play and were instrumental to the success of their reigning dynasties. I argue that both the *lex Salica* and the much discussed twelfth-century centralization of monarchical power and authority benefited not only male monarchs but also their consorts: cementing the queen as a constitutive component of the emergent state. The domestic strongholds of these stateswomen were political powerhouses; in princely politics, well positioned and shrewd political women conducted themselves in ways that might not have been possible in a pre-modern republic.

Indeed, because queens-consort, queen-mothers, daughters, sisters, aunts, and dowager queens were excluded from the succession, they became the natural choice for regencies and guardianships. In a post-*lex Salica* reality, such royal women posed no direct political threat to the Crown, and they continued to operate as mediators-of-choice to calm disputes and smooth the path of access to the nominal man in charge. Gynaecocracy might have been off the table in France but talented, subtle and effective female politicians, mediators, and diplomats were ideally positioned and had much to offer a reigning dynasty; and the men in charge (and their propagandists) were well aware of their value. This paper will examine whether or not durable misconceptions regarding the disfranchisement of French royal women holds in the light of new research into the agency of these women, the positions of whom in the hierarchy of politics, while sometimes disputed, were regarded as largely unexceptional during their lifetimes.

“The Late Medieval English Queen: Economic Resources and Queenly Power” – Michele Seah

In recent decades, the economic aspects of queenship studies have emerged as a burgeoning field with exciting prospects in relation to the implications for queenly power, influence and agency. Royal female power has often been studied relative to the individual’s connection to the king as his wife and mother of the royal children. These connections underscore their roles as queens with many past and current studies taking these underpinnings as their focus. In contrast, the medieval English queen is not easily pictured or remembered in economic terms, particularly since the concept of queens as individual landholders or property owners does not sit comfortably within the ideological and legal frameworks that shaped the lives of medieval women in general. This situation applies even to late-medieval English queens who

have been acknowledged as having possessed substantial economic resources at their disposal during their tenures.

This paper aims to shed light on what is possible in terms of research into the economic resources of the late-medieval English queens. It focuses on three queens consort in later-fifteenth century England and demonstrates how we can closely study a queen's economic resources. A broad analysis is undertaken of the types of resources at their disposal and the significance of each type in terms of its contribution to the foundations of queenly power. It shows how resources such as lands could be beneficial to queens both in financial terms and, more indirectly, with respects to the building of the political and social networks so crucial for their power base.

“Not with unassuming gentleness, but a voice of authority: The Military Involvement of the Empress Matilda and Matilda of Boulogne” – Teagan Currey

The Empress Matilda and the Queen Matilda of Boulogne were an extraordinary case of noble women pushing the boundaries of the power afforded to them, and involving themselves in military affairs when necessary. The leadership of these two women has rarely been put in the context of military involvement, yet chronicle evidence shows that both women took upon themselves the mantle of military leadership during the decade long anarchy. This presentation will address said involvement of the two women, and it will examine the extent of their participation, as well as the question of how they were individually evaluated by contemporary chronicles, and why it differed. It will argue that despite the fame of the Empress Matilda, it was in fact the Queen Matilda of Boulogne that held the most militaristic power and authority between them during this war, particularly during the imprisonment of King Stephen. It will also analyse their martial and non-martial involvement in the military effort, with them working just as much behind the scenes, and rallying troops. The research relies upon a core group of contemporary chronicles, which are the *Gesta Stephani*, William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella*, Orderic Vitalis' *The Historia Ecclesiastica*, the chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon, and the chronicles of John and Richard of Hexham. Each of these chronicles stood on different sides politically and thus all of them have valuable insights into the militaristic activities of the two women. These primary sources will be supplemented by other scholarship in the field to strengthen the argument and hypothesis. The Empress and the Queen are extraordinary examples of women stepping outside the previous boundaries of their authority, and of the power of Queenship extending beyond governance and patronage, into the typically “masculine” role of commander. These women's actions prove the significance of women's roles in western history, especially in the event of war, as it was their involvement that changed the course of history in England.

b. *Manuscript Fragments*

“The Broxbourne Fragment of an Old English Passion Narrative” – Tadashi Kotake

This paper aims to contribute to Manuscript Fragments Session by presenting a case study of a fragment containing an Old English text, which was used as a reinforcing strip in the sixteenth-century English binding of a copy of Haymo's commentary on Pauline Epistles printed in 1528 in Cologne. The book (Oxford, Bod.L., Broxbourne 9.12) was once part of the Broxbourne collection, assembled by Albert Ehrman and his wife with special focus on early printed books and book-bindings. Neil Ker's description of the fragment in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (no. 112) suggests that the fragment was

still *in situ* then; subsequently, it was detached and even reported to be missing. It was later rediscovered and is now catalogued separately as Oxford, Bod.L., MS Broxbourne 90.28.

Besides questions crucial to the study of manuscript fragments such as features of the binding and the provenance of the book, this paper will also consider what significance the fragment might bear upon our understanding of the Old English text. Despite its small size (approximately 155x50 mm), the text on the fragment can be shown to be closely related to the text short-titled as HomS18 by the *Dictionary of Old English*, a passion narrative based on Chapters 26 and 27 of the Gospel of Matthew. HomS18 is extant in three other eleventh-century manuscripts and the script of the fragment suggests a similar, or perhaps slightly later, date, but none of the editions of HomS18 has made use of the Broxbourne fragment. Although such a tiny fragment as this is likely to be of little use in establishing a critical text, the paper will argue that the fragment indicates several textual variants and close analyses of them may provide a key to enriching our knowledge of the text and its transmission.

“Fragments in an Antiphoner (University of Sydney Fisher Library RB Add.MS.F. 1)” – Kathleen Nelson

Fragments of musical manuscripts were employed as additions to books in multiple ways during the middle ages and early modern period. Some musical fragments, like other types of fragments, have endured in their locations often on boundaries of books. They could provide the outermost boundary or binding of a collection of documents, being the binding material displayed on the outside or incorporated in more hidden parts; they could be included as pastedowns on the inside of thick wooden boards used in book binding; and they could provide materials used to repair or reinforce damaged edges of vellum book pages. Although they may defy identification or explanation, some fragments preserve music or texts that would otherwise have been lost. In this paper, I present an examination of a multitude of mostly musical fragments added to a book of notated liturgical chant. This manuscript book, an antiphonal thought to have originated in late sixteenth-century Spain, is now held in the Rare Books collection of the University of Sydney.

“Binding fragments and book history: problems of provenance and attribution” – Nicholas Sparks

For the Manuscript Fragments Session, I propose to present a paper on the theme of binding fragments and book history. I wish to explore some practical difficulties, as well as theoretical problems, in dealing with manuscript fragments still *in-situ*, and in relationship with its host volume. I wish to consider some questions that arise when assigning provenance, and even more, when trying to assign the date and place of origin to medieval fragments, once bound, as the waste in the bindings of another volume.

In this context, I wish to exchange ideas and information about a current research project analyzing and describing *in-situ* medieval manuscript fragments in State Library of NSW incunabula. I wish to announce some new discoveries of unrecorded medieval fragments. I wish to present examples of the different kinds of manuscript waste used in the bindings of incunabula – as covers, endleaves, and spine and board linings, and for other smaller components such as endband cores, sewing supports, fastenings and furnishings – within intact first bindings of the 15th or 16th centuries.

I wish to ask what we, as palaeographers, bibliographers, cataloguers or book historians, do with this kind of material? I wish to challenge a tendency I see among a great many library catalogues and manuscript catalogues (especially older catalogues), for descriptions to conflate the localization of in-situ leaves with where the book was bound. I will challenge the underlying assumption by asserting that, where a book was put into covers need not be, and often is not, the same place where the manuscript, whose waste material the host volume now carries, was dismembered, let alone the same place where it was manufactured. As a corrective to this tendency, I suggest that we need to wholly attend to the bibliographical evidence of the different modes, and phases, by which the host volume has been put together. That is a central concept in analyzing manuscript fragments still in-situ.

c. Crusades II: Boundaries Real and Imagined

“God’s devils: The representation of Muslims as divine agents in Christian sources responding to the Conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 by Salah-al-Din” – Keagan Brewer

On 2 October 1187, Jerusalem fell to the Muslims, signalling the end of eighty-eight years of Catholic rule. The Catholic responses to this give a univocal cry of lamentation. The centre cannot hold! Almost invariably, the Muslims are equated with dogs, devils, pagans, and so on. (The Muslim sources are equally vituperative about the Christians.) But the granularity of the lamentations is fascinating. There were biblical precedents for the loss of Jerusalem, which provided an ample wellspring for metaphysical theory-making. Two precedents that sprung readily to mind were the sacking of the city by Nebuchadnezzar in *c.* 587/6 B.C.E. and Titus in 70 C.E. Particular verses were cited regularly, such as Psalm 78:1 and Lamentations 1:1. But what is most striking is the subset of the Christian lamentations that acknowledges that the Muslims must have been divine agents—indeed, the logic of providentialism demands this conclusion. If the city fell by divine will, ‘with our sins driving it’ (*peccatis nostris exigentibus*), then the Muslims were ‘evil’ agents of a Christian God. This paper seeks to examine how the conquest raised tensions around the categories of divine and evil, us and them, and to ask whether the theme aligns with Augustinian demonology and theodicy.

“Women of the House of Piast and the transmission of the idea of crusade” – Darius von Guttner Sporzynski

In 1141, Salome of Berg, the Dowager Duchess of Poland, convened a Piast family council during which the issue of her daughter’s future marriage was discussed. The council gathered all her sons from her marriage to Boleslaw III of Poland: Boleslaw, Mieszko, Henryk and Kazimierz. In the years that followed all four of these princes took part in Christian holy wars. This paper will examine the role of Salome of Berg in transmission of the idea of crusade in the context of the Polish participation in holy wars and crusading in Northern Europe and in the Holy Land.

“The Representation of Latin Christian-Muslim Diplomacy in Roger of Howden’s Accounts of the Third Crusade” – Katy Mortimer

In recent years, there has been an explosion in scholarship on Crusades-related sources, with historians and literary scholars recognising the value of treating contemporary narratives as crucial windows into the thought-worlds of medieval Europeans. However, while important

work has examined issues of memory, emotions, gender, and the miraculous, much less has been done to explore how medieval authors dealt with instances of diplomatic contact between Latin Christians and Muslims. Rather, historians have more often taken a solely empirical approach, and although recent moves have been made to eschew the dichotomous idea of a ‘clash of civilisations’, scholars continue to focus more on instances of conflict rather than interaction. Consequently, given the recent shift in how historians treat crusading narratives, and the greater recognition of the diversity of medieval interactions, there is thus a real need to push the boundaries of our understanding of inter-faith diplomacy in new directions. My paper, which showcases some of the methodologies I am employing for my doctoral research, thus looks to examine the accounts of the Third Crusade – a venture characterised by extensive diplomatic activity – by the English author, Roger of Howden. In doing so, I hope to demonstrate how historians might look to uncover a deeper knowledge of Western attitudes towards Islam through their depictions of diplomatic contact.

c. *The Scientific Revolution II*

“Getting Real about Descartes’ Radical Copernican Realism: Untimely Meditations for the Descartes and Scientific Revolution Industries” – John Schuster

Many Descartes experts act as though the last 109 articles of Book III and the first 57 articles of Book IV of Descartes *Principles of Philosophy* do not exist. These deal with the causes of the equilibrium of planetary orbits and the lack thereof in the case of comets (that is, vortices – a highly technical construct, it transpires); the magnetic properties of stars and planets (rewriting Gilbert into mechanistic language); the nature of sun spots and how their accretion and dissipation cause not only *novae* but the just discovered variable stars, as well as, on occasion, the extinguishing of the host star and the birth of a planet. All such planets, including the Earth, then undergo the same pattern of terraqueous formation. (Descartes offers not a ‘theory of the Earth’ as many believe, but a theory of each and every planet in his effectively infinite universe.)

These matters of mid-level theory, integration of recently discovered dramatic matters of fact, and grand systematic natural philosophizing may not interest most modern Descartes scholars, but they were what concerned René and his readers, literate in natural philosophy and its affiliated disciplines of astronomy, optics and mechanics. René’s readers knew that he was bidding to create a hegemonic system of natural philosophy in the form of the most radical, technically accomplished and empirically grounded version of a realist Copernicanism yet published. They knew that his ‘philosophical’ denial of the motion of the Earth was a hedge, as was his pose that the systems of Copernicus, Ptolemy and Tycho are epistemologically equal. These hedging passages, located earlier in the *Principia*, are read today. But they were Cartesian ‘masks,’ intended as pre-fabricated evidence for legal and inquisitorial fora, as anyone with juridicial/bureaucratic experience – then or now – might realize.

“Kepler’s *Mysterium Cosmographicum* Revisited: Some New Intellectual History Perspectives on the Interplay of Metaphysics, Physics and Mathematics” – Raffaele Pisano

Although Johannes Kepler (1570-161) was best known for his widely used *Tabulae Rudolphinae* (1627), his production was actually concentrated between 1596 and 1621. The former date marks the publication of the first edition of his *Mysterium Cosmographicum*, the latter the date of the second annotated edition. In these twenty-five years, all his masterpieces were published. In the *Mysterium* (2nd ed.). Kepler interestingly claimed that all his

contributions are specifications of problems already dealt with in *Mysterium*, even if, sometimes, in a naïve/imperfect manner. This little book represents the metaphysical foundation of Kepler's thought. He was interested both in discovering the kinematical-mathematical properties of the movements in the heavens, including their physical laws, and the plan and the archetypes residing behind the phenomena. The *Mysterium* proclaims it's God's plan. The archetypes are the geometrical figures, the famous five regular convex polyhedra, according to which God structured the universe. In the *Mysterium* Kepler developed his theory that the planetary spheres (not to be interpreted as physical entities) are inscribed/circumscribed in these figures. He tried to supply a dynamical explanation to the planetary movements. This is an important novelty because astronomy was still, at that time a kinematical science. In his dynamics/solar system, force was not conceptualized, mainly due to imperfections in both his conception of gravity and his inverse distance law (rightly inverse distance-squares law). This is also because Keplerian kinematics cannot be deduced from Keplerian dynamics. This paper will address the fundamental elements with a view to evaluating Kepler's kinematical theory. Kepler's metaphysics of course has been the object of an older, foundational literature in the history of science. Based on recent works of mine, the present paper aims to update and reform approaches to this issue, proposing a dynamic framework for this sort of intellectual history inquiry.

“Thought Experiments in the Period of the Scientific Revolution” – Carla Rita Palmerino

How can a thought experiment, which is only performed in the laboratory of the mind, generate new knowledge? And is there an essential difference between philosophical and scientific thought experiments? These two questions play a central role in most studies on thought experiments. My lecture is devoted to the use of thought experiments in the early modern period, at a time when no distinction was made between science and philosophy. I will argue that authors such as Galileo, Locke and Leibniz regarded imaginary scenarios not so much as heuristic instruments, but rather as rhetorical and polemical tools helpful to identify the breaking points between competing theoretical frameworks and rival theories.

e. *Workshop: Professional Boundaries, Career Horizons (sponsored by the Madden-Crawford Network)*

Medievalists often find themselves in a space of institutional and disciplinary liminality, which may contribute to uncertainty when negotiating professional boundaries. An international study found that graduate students are six times more likely than the general population to experience anxiety and depression. A lack of structured support and knowledge of structures is a particularly acute problem for early career researchers, non-tenured faculty and graduate students, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds. In response to current awareness of a need to increase diversity in medieval studies, this panel will provide a supportive discussion that focuses on professional development, especially in relation to: building networks; necessary but unspoken knowledge of academic and institutional spaces; unexpected career pathways or opportunities; and advice relating to casual teaching positions, postdoctoral positions, book proposals, tenure-track positions, grant writing, collaboration and article submission. Speakers can focus on particular times they navigated boundaries between positions (including editing, teaching and research), experiences of systemic or personal prejudice, harassment, or other related negotiations of professional and institutional boundaries. While this panel will involve frank discussion of difficult and ongoing issues in academia, an emphasis on sharing accumulated knowledge will contribute to its goal of providing practical mentorship within medieval studies.

f. *Gendering the Italian Wars 1: Gender, (Cultural) Negotiation, and the Italian Wars*

“Italy and France: The Diplomacy of Chiara Gonzaga in the first decade of the Italian Wars”
– Carolyn James

This paper analyses the role that Chiara Gonzaga — wife and then widow of Gilbert de Montpensier, Charles VIII’s main military commander in the French descent of 1494 — played in mediating the relationship between her brother, Francesco Gonzaga, the marquis of Mantua, and the French crown. I argue that Chiara was concerned in her letters to construct herself as a uniquely qualified intermediary, who deserved greater recognition than she received for her dogged diplomacy at the French court in defence of her brother’s regime and of his reputation as a reliable ally. The paper contributes to emerging scholarly work on the complex work that dynastic consorts performed in early modern diplomacy, by virtue of their knowledge of multiple languages, deep familiarity with different political contexts and their personal connections across Europe.

“Child’s play: diplomacy and cultural exchange during Federico Gonzaga’s sojourn at the French court (1515-1517)” – Jessica O’Leary

This paper will examine the French sojourn of a teenage Federico Gonzaga, first-born son of Francesco Gonzaga and Isabella d’Este, Marquis and Marchioness of Mantua, within the context of the Italian Wars. His presence at the court of Francois I in Amboise was both a diplomatic tool for the Gonzaga to appease the French king and an opportunity to cultivate valuable interpersonal relationships and cultural tastes during a period of political change. His correspondence grants insight into contemporary diplomatic practices and emphasises the role of diplomatic sociability and self-fashioning in formal political negotiations. Like women, children lacked a distinct identity in the social hierarchy and could move with greater ease between groups to broker information and foster ties. Federico’s case study is suggestive of a broader phenomenon in which elite children circulated among early modern European courts as an ancillary diplomatic apparatus to the resident ambassador and embassy.

“Royal Entities and Personified Politics: the gendered negotiation of relationships between cities and their royal entrants during the Italian Wars” – Elizabeth Reid

This presentation will discuss the role of gender in establishing reciprocal relationships between cities and foreign rulers during the ceremonial entries of the Italian Wars (1494-1559). Masculine and feminine personifications, performed through the placement of living people as well as through visual and literary allegory, played complementary roles in asserting the entrant and the cities’ relative strength, sovereignty and support. My survey of festival books, chronicles ambassadorial letters and apparati designs reveals that kinship relationships provided poignant relatable models through which political relationships between allies were expressed, while enemy cities were often represented as masculine until they were subdued and made female.

g. *Eastern Pasts in Modern Fiction*

“Crossing Caste Boundaries: Exploring Cognitive Empathy in Srividya Natarajan and Stephen Anand’s Graphic Novel *Bhimayana*” – Kavita Mondal

Eminent theorists of empathy, such as Robert Vischer, Edward Titchener, Theodor Lipps, Vernon Lee and Wilhelm Worringer inclined to relate visual stimulation to empathic response. Dealing with the heartrending experiences faced by the Indian social reformer B. R. Ambedkar

as an untouchable in his childhood narrated in his autobiographical notes, Srividya Natarajan and Stephen Anand's graphic novel *Bhimayana* delineates the difficulties of combating caste prejudice and bigotry endured by Ambedkar in particular and dalits in India in general, with coeval accounts of the evil social custom of untouchability and marginalization. Illustrated by Durgabai Vyam and Subhas Vyam, its use of Pardhan Gond art and digna patterns in which images are originally painted on the walls and floors of Pardhan Gonds' houses makes the story more palpable, authentic and veracious. *Bhimayana* is enriched with nature imageries, water-based imageries and the like which help the readers to make them feel as an insider to cognitively empathize with its characters or incidents. Cognitive empathy is a mirroring ability which activates mirror neurons in the prefrontal cortex involved in language and processing of semantic content, and, thus, enhances one's imaginative faculty which aims to discuss others' mental situations. As vision is a prime empathic sense, it is a subtle and acute job on the part of the author to enable a reader to share feelings by the art and mechanism of narration which is known as "narrative empathy." The present paper shows how through the subtle use of visual imagery and metaphors, an emotionally evocative narrative technique, *Bhimayana* recounts the universal struggle against caste oppression perpetrated by home-grown oppressors, and how it evokes cognitive empathy in its readers leading them to enhance their finer feelings through the unravelling of its visual language.

"Delineating the social praxim of categorisation and delimitation in Indian Hierarchical Structure: An Elucidative Study of Utpal Dutt's *Hunting the Sun*" – Oliva Roy and Atreya Roy

20th century Bengali revolutionary playwright Utpal Dutt's stringent political play, *Hunting the Sun*, is a scathing attack on the Capitalist class. The play vehemently critiques the brutal, inhuman attitude of the ruling class towards common people. It portrays the oppression, exploitation and political persecution of the Proletariat and also their social, religious and cultural ostracization in an era which is marked as the Golden Age in Indian history. Since time immemorial, Brahmins and especially male Brahmins have enjoyed high status and undisputed power and authority in society. Their power has blinded them to such an extent that they have unhesitatingly denied the basic rights of people and have continued to perpetrate monstrous atrocities against Shudras, slaves and women. The play shows how Brahmins, blinded by their power and authority, have taken it for granted that it is their right to humiliate, oppress and abuse slaves and common people since they belong to the lowest stratum in Indian hierarchical structure. This horrendous nature of Indian hierarchical society that deprives people of their freedom and autonomy, that ostracize people because of their caste and gender and forces them to live on the fringes of society, has got vividly portrayed in Dutt's heart-wrenching play, *Hunting the Sun*. This paper is an endeavour to explore and study how demarcation lines were drawn by the Brahmins centuries ago, to separate and exclude people of lower castes from all kinds of social and cultural activities. Even during King Samudragupta's reign, Shudras were barred from studying Vedas and other religious scriptures. These strict and absurd restrictions imposed on the Shudras and women, have made their lives unbearable. This hapless and hostile condition of the Shudras have been portrayed in Dutt's play, *Hunting the Sun*.

"Back Then, Write Now" – Christine Stanton

After determining a time frame in which to work, the most pertinent issue for a writer of historical fiction is to avoid the trap of simply devising a contemporary narrative garbed in museum costume - similar to the academic predicament of how far it is reasonable to interpret the past without presuming a mindset not available to the era being studied.

In speculating on what it was to be human at a particular historical moment, it is tempting to presume a commonality of outlook across time and cultures but it is necessary to acknowledge that boundaries of time, space and cultural difference may prove insurmountable.

This paper references the texts and character devices used in a fictional narrative where those issues were facing those were pressing issues. Developed as part of a doctoral thesis, and set in 1599-1606, it describes encounters between an East Asian protagonist and a series of Europeans. Each side proves to be only opaquely accessible to the other's understanding; the Europeans are unsure how to categorise the protagonist, whose own inherited categories stem from his tribe's animist beliefs. To integrate these separate perceptions and advance the narrative it was necessary to use a number of intermediary characters, who are willing to try negotiating across invisible but seemingly impenetrable boundaries; for example, an ambassador, a bishop, a philosopher, and a collector of curiosities - all attempt to understand the stranger. He in turn is expected to act as an intermediary for Europeans planning to trade with his home country.

Reference will be made to Lovejoy's work on the *scala naturae*, David Mitchell's novel *The Thousand Autumns of Jacob de Zoe*, Goldstone on *The Problem of the "Early Modern" World*, the theories of Hayden White, Mieke Bal, E.M.W Tillyard and others. The overall theme of this paper is the necessity of letting go of too strong an investment in one's own present in order to respect the impact of the past on both creative and analytic literary endeavours.

Parallel Session 4

a. *Familial, Devotional, National: Female Horizons in Early Modern Scotland*

“The Cult of St Anne in Scotland (c. 1360 – c. 1560)” – Eila Williamson

Examples regarding veneration of St Anne, mother of the Blessed Virgin Mary, can be found throughout western Europe during the medieval and early modern periods, as demonstrated by studies such as those of Welsh (2016), Nixon (2004), and the earlier collection of essays edited by Ashley and Sheingorn (1990). However, the manner in which the cult of St Anne developed, and devotion to her was practised and experienced, could differ from realm to realm. In comparison with other countries in western Europe, St Anne’s cult in Scotland has received little critical attention, being mentioned only briefly by scholars of late medieval and early modern Scotland, mainly in discussions of devotion to, and the growth of, Christocentric and Marian cults in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

This paper will adopt a multidisciplinary approach to examine evidence for the cult of St Anne in Scotland over a period of approximately two hundred years before the Scottish Reformation of 1560. The Scottish evidence includes church and altar dedications; offerings on feast days; place-names; literature; and images. Consideration will be given to the ways in which the cult can be categorised (for example, by geographical location and location type; in terms of patronage, whether it be royal, ecclesiastical or lay; and by gender of patrons and devotees, etc.), and the benefits and problems of undertaking the analysis of saints’ cults using a multidisciplinary lens. As a universal saint’s cult in a relatively small but regionally diverse country, the extent that the cult’s nature and development were influenced by Scotland’s links with other western European nations, including England, France, Germany, the Low Countries, Italy and Denmark, will also be highlighted.

“Lucretia: Her Legend in Early Scottish Literature (c. 1500 – c. 1580)” – Janet Hadley Williams

The spark igniting this paper is the name of a woman who flourished in late sixteenth century Scotland, Lucress Betoun. Her fine italic signature suggests her family background—European, educated—and links her to a more famous figure, Lucrezia Borgia. The two lives form a striking comparison: while Lucrezia was daughter of Pope Alexander VI and his mistress Vannozza dei Cattanei, Lucress descended from Scotland’s highest church official, Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop and *legate à latere*, and his mistress, Marion Ogilvy.

Yet it is the name these women share that has lasting interest. Almost certainly, both Lucress Beaton and Lucrezia Borgia were named after a much earlier Lucretia, the wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, son of a Roman king. The story of her virtuous life, rape, and suicide, and of their involvement in the foundation of Republican Rome, appears in Titus Livy’s history of Rome, *Ab Urbe Condita*, and in Ovid’s *Fasti*, both works re-discovered during the medieval period.

From them, Lucretia’s story was re-shaped by historians, theologians, artists, and writers, the balance between its moral and political aspects constantly shifting. Medieval and early modern literary texts reflected this debate. While, for instance, Gower’s *Confessio* portrait is exemplary, after the classical account, Chaucer’s in *The Legend of Good Women*

mixes Christianizing sympathy with awareness of cultural otherness, while Shakespeare's portrait in his *Rape* crystallizes strenuous argument about the treatment of female dishonour. Just as diverse are the responses to Lucretia's legend in medieval and early modern Scottish literary texts. Differing representations occur, for example, in Bellenden's Livy translation; the Scots *Buke of the Chess*; Weddirburne's 'Prayis of Wemen'; Arbuthnat's 'Contrapoyssoun to the Ballat Falslie Intitulit the Properteis of Gud Wemen'; and Montgomerie's sonnet sequence, 'A Ladyis Lamentatioun'. This rich yet neglected body of work will be explored.

b. *Medieval Religious Texts*

"Friend or Foe: Bonaventure and Scholastic Discipleship" – Matthew Beckmann

A long tradition maintains that the early Franciscan masters at the University of Paris formed a uniform and harmonious bloc, as pupil followed master and then, in orderly and untrammelled fashion, succeeded each other. This stability at the Franciscan stadium in Paris is understood to have facilitated a commonality of philosophical and theological perspective among the brothers.

This paper questions that unanimity. At numerous points in his commentary on the *Book of Sentences*, Bonaventure questioned and then abandoned the path that had been laid out by the first Franciscan master, Alexander of Hales. In the wake of this, Bonaventure took steps to defend himself against accusations of disloyalty and lack of fidelity. His handling of this experience reveals how he justified his belonging to a 'theological school' and an academic community. It discloses what he thought 'categorised' him as a good Franciscan and scholar, against the backdrop of a fracturing order itself debating what it meant to be 'Franciscan'.

"Between Biblical and Political: The Reinvention of Samson in Twelfth-Century Leon-Castile" – Elizabeth Lastra

The province of Palencia in northern Spain framed an unstable border between medieval kingdoms. Within this territory of shifting allegiances, a well-known biblical scene has been reworked, likely to convey a political message. A group of churches located in a small geographical area near Aguilar de Campoo features a curious representation of Samson. Carved capitals inside each church depict Samson atop a lion, with the beast aggressively besieged from both sides: at front, a man attacks the lion with a mace, and from behind another saws off the beast's tail with a sickle. This enigmatic variant of a common biblical motif seems to disguise a partisan message promulgated in the local community. The lion, representing the kingdom of León, is one of the earliest examples of heraldry. In later centuries, heraldic arms were actively alerted to demonstrate defeat by the lion losing his tale. In this area, oft caught between the warring kingdoms of León and Castile, the iconographical departure encapsulates a political commentary, showing the region's disapproval of their current overlords, the kings of León. Through these subversive Samson capitals, this paper investigates the embattled border between the kingdoms of Castile and León as well as the boundary between the spheres of biblical and political image making.

"A Friar's Empire: Martin of Opava and the Concept of Emperorship in Dominican Historiography" – Elisabeth Rolston

The late-thirteenth century *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum* of the Dominican friar Martin of Opava, also known as Martin of Troppau, proved to be one of the most popular and influential universal chronicles of the later Middle Ages. It forms part of a body of

encyclopaedic reference works produced by the Dominican Order in the thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. Despite its medieval popularity, however, the *Chronicon* has a modern reputation for being derivative, unoriginal, and poorly written. As a result, its value as a carefully constructed, influential vision of papal and imperial power has not been sufficiently recognised.

This paper explores Martin's interpretation of the empire's role according to the 'two swords' theory that advocated for the dual rule of Christendom by pope and emperor, and his vision of emperorship that was informed by the pastoral concerns of the Dominican Order. It considers this interpretation in the context of the Dominican historiographical tradition in the later Middle Ages, drawing comparisons with the way imperial history was presented by his thirteenth-century contemporaries, Vincent of Beauvais and James of Voragine, and by two early-fourteenth century friars who consulted the *Chronicon*, Ptolemy of Lucca and Bernard Gui. This comparison reveals that Martin's *Chronicon* presents a carefully constructed vision of empire that was distinct from those of his brethren, one that reflected a complex and developed understanding of the role of the emperor in Christendom. Furthermore, it sheds light on the transmission of political ideas within the Dominican Order's encyclopaedic projects. It reveals the extent to which each friar's particular context influenced his vision of empire, demonstrating, in particular, that Martin's *Chronicon* represents a valuable perspective within the Dominican historiographical tradition, one that reflects his unique background as a papal chaplain and penitentiary.

c. *Early Modern Demonic*

"Demonic possession and the enigma of emotion in early modern Bermuda" – Judith Bonzol

The demonic possession of Roger Sterrop, a fourteen-year-old apprentice living beyond the boundaries of episcopal control in the early English settlement of Bermuda, reveals much about the speculative nature of accessing emotions. The only evidence of Sterrop's possession and dispossession comes from a letter written in 1630 by an anonymous English cleric in Bermuda to Sterrop's unnamed master in England. While my research has established the author of this letter and to whom it was written, the emotional experiences of the young apprentice remain elusive. Nevertheless, while the letter is clearly a formulaic work of puritan persuasion, it does give some clues about Sterrop's background, while a close study of the context of Sterrop's life on Bermuda, and the religious and political controversy surrounding him, provides some insight into his inner life.

Sterrop's illness may well have been the result of the confinement, hardship, and loneliness of his life as an apprentice in Bermuda. In the 1620s the Somer Islands Company shipped several hundred impoverished children, aged between eight and sixteen, to Bermuda to supplement the workforce. The social control directed at apprentices and servants on Bermuda was much more restrictive than in England. According to one observer they lived 'practically in a state of slavery'. As Sterrop's condition declined his illness was gradually perceived to be demonic. Although he was first encouraged to rejoice in his verbal struggle against the devil, he was later counselled to grieve that he was being used as the devil's instrument. As a result, he ceased to speak, and his behaviour became increasingly bestial. While Sterrop is stripped of agency, the intercession of the clerics with a healing ritual of dispossession is portrayed as an emotional catharsis, dissipating tensions and generating wonder and hope, for the entire godly community.

“*Cerebrum Melancholicum est Sedes Daemonum*: The Natural and the Demonic in Early Modern Anglican Demonological Discourse” – Brendan Walsh

During the late 16th and early 17th centuries, just as demonic possession was at its height throughout Europe, the very nature of this spiritual affliction was being challenged within Reformed English Protestantism. While the Devil figured heavily in the spiritual narratives of pious English Protestants, the ecclesiastical authorities were attempting to reconfigure demonic influence as an entirely natural phenomenon. In response to the controversial exorcism ministry of the Puritan John Darrell in the 1590s, English demonologists such as Samuel Harsnett, John Deacon, and John Walker argued that demonic possession could be explained entirely through natural maladies or delusion. They advocated a scriptural hermeneutical method that defined spirit manifestation and possession as purely metaphorical, while still maintaining the Protestant emphasis on demonic temptation. The Darrell Controversy was instrumental in affecting how people in the early modern period understood demonic possession with the polemical exchanges surrounding Darrell’s exorcism ministry illustrating that different demonological models could be enacted within the framework of early modern Anglican theology.

This paper will explore the different demonological models advocated in Reformed Protestant discourse throughout the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The medicalisation of demonic possession emerged as one of the most significant implications of the Darrell Controversy, signalling a shift in early modern demonology. This paper will examine the polemics of John Darrell, Samuel Harsnett, John Deacon, and John Walker to illustrate how the boundaries of Protestant demonology were being redefined during this period. In particular, it will focus on the concepts of melancholy and demonic obsession forwarded in these polemical texts as attempts to reconfigure demonic possession in a natural paradigm. To demonstrate how this interpretation of possession was enacted, this paper will highlight the Church of England’s response to the ‘possession’ of Mary Glover and Anne Gunter in the early 17th century as case studies. Through this, this paper aims to contextualize conflicting interpretations and shifting categories of the diabolic in early modern thought.

d. Varieties of Early Modern Philosophy

“Counsel, Absolutism, and Navigating Boundaries in Early Modern Political Thought” – Thomas Corbin

Recently, historical explanations of the politics of the early modern period have seen an expansion of scope beyond the traditional top down analysis of juridical law which travels from the monarch to the people. In place of this traditional focus, historians such as Jacqueline Rose have turned their attention to contextual evidence which shows a more nuanced exchange of ideas and of influences between the various strata of society. This widening of scope has not only allowed a better picture of the daily practices of politics and legal decision making in this period, it has also granted a better, more accurate, picture of the reality of the absolutist state. This paper provides an overview of this approach and applies it to the history of ideas.

The most well-known proponent of an absolute rule in the early modern period is the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes argued, most famously in his *Leviathan* (1651), that the state was best organised by having an all-powerful sovereign at the centre, supported by subjects completely obedient to the sovereign’s will. In Hobbes’ theory this boundary between the citizens and their sovereign is obviously one which is crucial to understand. This

paper argues, however, that it is equally important to understand how this boundary can, and must be, navigated in order to ensure a stable and well-run state. In Hobbes' writing, he spends significant time addressing the role of counsel, a role which he directly portrays as navigating this boundary between citizen and sovereign. By exploring the role of counsel in Hobbes' political thought, this paper provides a more nuanced picture of how Hobbes himself saw the everyday real-world operations of the civil society he proposed. By doing so, this paper also demonstrates the value that this broader approach holds for the history of ideas more generally.

“The Invention of the Cosmopolitan in Early Modern Europe” – Leigh Penman

The present paper argues that the ideas of cosmopolitanism commonly believed to have originated in antique philosophy and which still flourish today were actually a product of early modern scholarly engagement with the antique past. Focusing on instances of the usage of the "cosmopolitan vocabulary" (cosmopolitanus, kosmopolites, cosmopolite, Weltbuerger, etc) between 1500 and 1800, the paper aims to give a brief overview of the diversity of potential cosmopolitan visions, both religious and secular, which circulated in early modernity. This is achieved by examining debates and contestations involving the cosmopolitan vocabulary in the works of figures like Guillaume Postel, Johann Valentin Andreae, Justus Lipsius and others. Although the religious implications of cosmopolitan identity had largely faded by the end of the seventeenth century, the early-modern debates and engagements nevertheless were known to, and indeed informed, the later influential statements of the cosmopolitan by Denis Diderot and perhaps also Immanuel Kant.

“Henry More's Cartesian Ethics” – Maks Sipowicz

In the preface to his 1667 book, *Enchiridion Ethicum*, Henry More admits that in developing the account of the passions at the foundation of his moral philosophy he has “chiefly conformed to what *Des-Cartes* ... had done before him” (EE A6). Thus far, most scholars interested in situating More in relation to Descartes have focused on More's engagement with Descartes' physics and epistemology (Gabbey, 1982) or on their disagreement regarding animal souls (Cohen, 1936). But few scholars have examined the fact that More builds on Descartes' taxonomy of the passions and account of virtue to present a clearly Cartesian, yet still original, account of morals. This is worth pursuing, as it suggests that Descartes may have had a previously unexplored, yet significant influence on the development of moral philosophy in England. My aim here is to pursue the extent of this influence, particularly focusing on More's most original contribution to ethical theory – the Boniform Faculty. I will argue that this faculty of the human mind is a transformation of the Cartesian passion-virtue of generosity. A benefit of this comparison, beyond a better understanding of both More's and Descartes' moral philosophy, is showing that Descartes has had a significant influence on British ethical thought, in particular on thinkers such as Shaftesbury and Hutcheson and their concept of the moral sense.

e. *Literature and Religious Boundaries*

“The Reception of Epameinondas: A Puritan Clergyman's Portrayal of an Ancient Figure” – Kara Braithwaite-Westoby

Between 375 and 362 B.C.E. the Theban general, Epameinondas dominated the course of history for practically all of mainland Greece. Though his pre-eminence would endure throughout antiquity, by the Middle Ages and long after we find only a handful of references.

However, with the surge of classical studies in the early modern period, it was almost inevitable that the subject of the great Theban would once again be of interest. The earliest extant example of this was produced in 1665 by an important Puritan clergyman and biographer from England named Samuel Clarke. In spite of a great deal of scholarship over the past two centuries on Epameinondas, not a single mention is made of this curious piece of work. The primary purpose of this paper is to assess Clarke's portrayal of Epameinondas and thereby establish the particular traits that made him an attractive topic for a Puritan clergyman. In addition, this examination will be given in the context of his reception throughout late antiquity to the early modern period in an attempt to account for the dearth of interest on the topic. This study will not only provide insight into the reception of Epameinondas but will also illustrate how a particular ancient figure was utilized to convey and promote Puritan ideals.

“A Matter of Conscience: Negotiating Religious Boundaries in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*” – Leah Ingram

Thomas Heywood's play *A Woman Killed with Kindness* has long baffled critics in its equivocal depiction of Anne Frankford's fall into the sin of adultery and her subsequent disturbing death. Explanations for the meaning behind Anne's death have included: self-murder or suicide; the culturally reasonable and just result of her husband's condemnation; or the actions of a martyr, condoned by the author, in her quest for fleshly mortification. I believe that by examining the contemporary religious climate we can better understand the issues faced by Heywood's protagonists.

One of the key issues of the English Reformation hotly contested by Catholics and Protestants was the extent to which individuals should rely upon their own consciences in making moral decisions. Within the Catholic Church the individual's conscience was strictly contained by codes of conduct dependent on tradition and canon law, as well as Scripture. The English Church strongly opposed this, offering the layperson more general moral guidance, from which the individual was to exercise their conscience in order to extract meaning applicable to their dilemmas.

My paper will explore Thomas Heywood's keen interest in this complex religious issue and how he skilfully examines individual engagement with these new positions. The ways in which Anne chooses to negotiate these boundaries inform us of the ways in which post-Reformation society challenged their construction and categorisation, implicitly pointing out the limitations inherent in the religious quest to define separateness and exclude the religious 'other'.

“Blended theologies: Deciphering the debate around ‘vernacular theology’ and its role in understanding Renaissance preaching” – Stephanie Jury

The term ‘vernacular theology’ has been repeatedly challenged. Since its inception in Ian Anthony Doyle's 1953 doctoral thesis, it has been debated and analysed by various scholars, most recently by Eliana Corbari. While the problems inherent with vernacular theology as an approach are of concern – scholars argue that the term “theology” will suffice and that “vernacular” is a superfluous term which detracts rather than adds to the nature of “theology” – I argue that the term is useful precisely because it differentiates particular segments of society, and allows for a varied understanding of how different parts of society interact with doctrine.

The term “theology” can suggest one timeless theology; in contrast, the idea of vernacular theologies suggests that there are multiple understandings and levels. It also addresses the curious use of vernacular within sermons themselves, and is a useful phrase for defining what, exactly, reports on sermons are: theological texts grasping only fragments of sermons and complex concepts. The term is more than just the language these sermons or comments are recorded in, but also encompasses the people who chose to engage in theological discourse through a language other than Latin. I argue that debate over the term and its use to define vernacular sermons and sermon reports should not be limited to whether or not it should be used, but rather that must consider the legitimacy of a “bilingual” theology existing. Using sermons by fifteenth-century Dominican friar Simone Barolomei de Bertis and a collection of sermon reports, I argue that there is a personal relevance in both sermons and reports which require the use of vernacular language to illustrate morality, and that this inclusion, and the inclusion of the laity in creating and maintaining theological discourse, warrants an understanding and consideration of the term vernacular theology.

f. *Crossing Boundaries with Early Modern Literature*

“Metadrama and the Crossroads in George Peele’s *The Old Wives Tale*” – Bill Angus

Since they operate often as boundaries between private land or parishes or even kingdoms, roads are often in themselves liminal places. As a place where roads are in a sense overlaid, the crossroads is a doubly liminal space, so to speak, in the horizontal plane. Crossroads’ association with outcast burials and gods both above and below (Diana, Proserpina, and Hecate for instance) add a vertical axis to this node. In George Peele’s *Old Wive’s Tale* (1595), a rare onstage crossroads is presented within theatrical and local spaces which are themselves liminal. This is a crossroads (in an inner play-narrative) within a smithy (within an outer play), within a theatre. It thus occupies a location within a location within a location, and is therefore multiply and exponentially liminal. Without suggesting any intent on Peele’s part, the tripling of this location may be said to echo the proverbially triple nature of the crossroads itself, which is the source of its transformative reputation.

Within the *Old Wive’s Tale’s* inner play, the burial of the magician’s life-light, the threatened outcast burial of Jack the revenant, and the comedic emergence of the head from the well seem only to add to this vertiginous sense of inner depth and produce a level of diegetic gravity that compels the attention of the audience, despite the utterly nonsensical folk fantasy of the play itself. The metadrama that sits alongside this then becomes a function of the play’s meditation on the transformative nature of narrative and dramatic forms.

“Interpreting the Censored Early Modern Co-Author” – Gabriella Edelstein

Over the last twenty years, literary scholarship has paid increasing attention to the collaborative processes involved in early modern theatrical production. This work has created new models of authorship by questioning the totalising influence of the playwright so as to reveal the dispersed authority of scribes, compositors, actors, and others in the production of both performed and printed plays. The dramatic output of the most famed playwrights of the period have come under intense scrutiny in the hopes of uncovering these agents. Once these agents have been found, however, questions still remain about the extent to which they hold authorial influence over a text. Whilst literary critics have worked to make sense of collaboration in print and performance, one significant area has yet to receive due attention: censorship. The regulation of early modern drama allowed for a greater dispersal of authority

than has previously been assumed. Censorship muddies the waters of authorship as we find that the playwrights' authority is either unwilling thrust upon him, dispersed to other agents, or perhaps completely ignored. In this paper, I will suggest that by reading through the dual lenses of collaboration and censorship, the categories of authorship used by early modern literary criticism break down. I will offer an interpretation of current critical editions of the collaborative play, *Sir Thomas More* (famous for Shakespeare's involvement), and show how the editorial understanding of authorship can be opened up to new horizons through less ideologically inflected categorisations of collaboration.

“Crossing Disciplinary Borders: Raiding or Trading? The Case of Early Modern Meter” – Peter Groves

Early Modern poetic texts are characterized by their use of rhetoric and metre, and literary scholars have traditionally used terms plundered from Greek and Latin poetics to describe these two systems: *epistrophe*, *pyrrhic* and so on. But while this works effectively for rhetoric, it doesn't for metre: the traditional humanist or literary description, which in one form or another has persisted to the present, cannot even provide a systematic formal account of the distinction between metrical and unmetrical lines, and a taxonomy that cannot distinguish rats from mice (one based, say, on coloration) is unlikely to tell you much that is interesting about either. This problem was raised in the first published account of English metre (1575), and returned to by other Elizabethan critics. The reason for this failure is that metre necessarily involves some systematic organization of prosodic phonology, and literary metrics has shown little interest in or even awareness of this fact (indeed, it was inaccessible before the development of modern linguistics).

This problem came to a head in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when scholars of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama attempted to use literary metrical analysis to generate statistics for forensic purposes (the investigation of authorial attribution and development in style) and eventually concluded that they were merely tabulating their own subjective impressions. This paper will explore recent interdisciplinary incursions that have treated metrical form solely as a problem in linguistics, without reference to the disciplinary protocols of literary studies, and show that while such smash-and-grab raids can be crudely effective in starting to address the problem, they are unlikely to be subtle or nuanced. The problem is that linguistic metrics can only see poetic texts as data to be mined for regularities, rather than as a form of rhetorical practice and consequent readerly experience.

g. *Games, Conduct and Myths in the Middle Ages*

“Passing the time: games and the common good in late medieval Flanders” – Andrew Brown

This paper explores the rhetorics surrounding games in late medieval Flanders: the various uses to which categories of games were put, and the boundaries set up between games and other activities. Games had both positive and negative values attributed to them: they could be linked to the virtues of recreation, and to vices such as sloth. They were defined in relation other forms of activity, especially mundane work and divine service, but also, increasingly, with reference to ideas of the common good. Historiography on late medieval games has not explored these links sufficiently. Princes made use of these rhetorical connections, but so did their subjects. The pardon letters issued by Valois Burgundian and Hapsburg rulers of the Low Countries provide an excellent source to examine rhetorics on games in a social and legal context. Over 1000 detailed letters survive from the period 1386-1500, involving

suppliants from a surprising range of social groups, including labourers and artisans. A third of the suppliants' letters refer to games and other forms of recreation, and in ways that served their own purposes.

“Beyond technologies of self: Pushing back the boundaries of medieval conduct” – Elizabeth Kinne

This paper demonstrates how a feminist reading of late medieval conduct literature can push back the boundaries of medieval studies to make significant theoretical contributions to multidisciplinary inquiries into prescriptive discourse. Departing from French medieval advice manuals for women, it demonstrates how admonitions and impositions from their male authors challenge many of the assumptions on which Foucault's theory of technologies of self is based, namely that Western experiences of the forging of individual subjectivity and self-fashioning has a universalizing scope for men and women. What this assertion ignores is the gendered aspects of the classical texts on which he grounds his theory of the formation of subjectivity and how prescriptive discourse directed at women for their edification must first be subverted before being implemented, as contradictory or illogical advice makes implementation self-detrimental, difficult, or undesirable.

I then argue that the theoretical framework developed in contestatory readings of late medieval conduct literature can be applied to contemporary prescriptive discourses directed at women. A first example highlights the distinct experiences of American service women of the gendered demands placed upon them by the military chain of command and how the strategies of self-transformation and resistance expressed in biographies and autobiographies of women who participated in Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan and Operation Iraqi Freedom present an opportunity to imagine the lived experience of reception by late medieval women. A second example imagines future artificial forms of feminine subjectivity, arguing that the coding of feminized robotic artefacts could be read as another form of prescription with ethical consequences. Pursuing the creation of feminine companion robots who could perfectly integrate prescriptive discourse and gendered norms because they perform narrowly conceived scripts represents an idealized form of reception imagined by the authors of late medieval conduct literature. Medieval and contemporary examples anticipate the successes and failures of any prescriptive discourse and show how feminine experiences of subjectivity and self-fashioning are fraught with political and ethical repercussions absent in Foucault's tentative framework. This paper provides a more nuanced proposal for understanding specifically feminine technologies of self.

“Fire in the Belly: Sea Monsters and Tsunami in Northern European Mythology and Folklore” – Erica Steiner

Many myths and legends are more than simple fairytales, and may instead contain within them kernels of actual historical facts, with certain myths potentially transmitting important cultural information and eyewitness accounts of events over hundreds, if not even thousands of years. Recent research by Duane Hamacher, Patrick Nunn and Nicholas Reid, has connected certain geologically datable events which are many thousands of years old with Australian Aboriginal myths, while Elizabeth and Paul Barber's study of Native American and Classical myths, likewise explored similar questions of how ancient natural phenomena may have been recorded within mythology. This paper will explore an Orcadian folktale, that of *Assipattle and the Mester Stoor Worm*, and present the hypothesis that the characterisation of the hero's supernatural opponent, an enormous sea monster, may in fact contain a mythic representation of one or more ancient geophysical events – specifically, a catastrophic

tsunami caused by a series of underwater landslides off the continental shelf of present-day Norway (the Storegga Slides) which devastated the coastlines of the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea in prehistory. For how long such story could have been understood by its audience as describing this event is a more complex question that is both outside the scope of this paper and ultimately unlikely to be able to be answered. What can, however, be examined is the nature of a tsunami episode, and how accurately these events are reflected through the personification of the Mester Stoorworm. Moreover, a selection of parallels from other medieval and early modern Celtic and Scandinavian sources will attempt to show that the Orcadian tale is not an isolated example, but instead sits within a much greater folkloric tradition of devastating oceanic events that seem to have been transmitted in the guise of mythic sea monsters.

h. *Memento Mori: Reigicide, mourning and commemoration in Stuart and Jacobean England*

“Songs about the execution of Charles I” – Una McIlvenna

The news that the people of England had executed their sovereign king by chopping off his head with an axe sent shockwaves around Europe. This paper looks at one of the ways the emotions about the event were expressed, through the ballads composed and sung in various European languages. What can we learn about popular responses to the royal execution across different cultures, and how did the unique qualities of song such as melody and performance create an emotional consensus about Charles’ death?

“The king’s two bodies – the relics of James II” – Matthew Martin

This paper explores the ambiguous status of objects associated with the exiled Stuarts in the eighteenth century. These range from bits of hair or blood-soaked cloth to glasses containing Maundy coins of the Stuart monarchs. From the moment of James II’s death in 1701, there was a movement to have the king canonised: in the first few decades of the eighteenth century many of these mementoes were reported to have performed miraculous healings. Drawing on Steve Pincus's ideas about the 1688 revolution and 'Catholic Modernity,' I will argue that we witness here the collision of two paradigms - memento vs relic - reflecting ideas about the nature of the royal body.

“Materialising mourning at the Jacobean and Stuart court” – Erin Griffey

This paper will consider the connection between the material and affective within the context of female mourning dress at the Jacobean and Stuart courts. It will provide an overview of the protocols around mourning dress, the types of garments worn, and the political strategies invested in such attire.